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EXO GAMY AND POLY ANDRY.

IN the January number of the *Historical Review*, a paper by the late Mr. McLennan is published which elaborates his theory, mentioned but slightly in *Studies in Ancient History* (p. 75), as to the origin of exogamy. "We believe," he says at the latter reference, "this restriction on marriage to be connected with the practice in early times of female infanticide, which, rendering women scarce, led at once to polyandry within the tribe and the capturing of women from without." To emphasize the fact that it was "a limitation on the exercise of the right of marriage among kindred," Mr. Donald McLennan brings forward some curious evidence for the purpose of proving that though the right of marriage was restricted by the laws of exogamy, the right of less regular intercourse was not thereby abolished. If this evidence is to be accepted, it will have an important bearing upon the origin, not only of exogamy but of polyandry. For clearly if the right of less regular intercourse than marriage survived after the introduction of exogamy into polyandrous society, such a right is of course assumed to have existed with purely polyandrous society. Here we are met with Mr. McLennan's definition of polyandry as "a modification of promiscuity."¹ It would seem that we must either give up this definition of polyandry, or

¹ *Studies in Ancient History*, pp. 94-95.

refuse to accept Mr. Donald McLennan's application of periodical promiscuity as evidence bearing on the origin of exogamy. If we examine the custom of periodical promiscuity, it will, I think, assist us in determining which of these alternatives is necessary.

Mr. Donald McLennan instances the tribes about Port Lincoln in South Australia, the Turra tribe also in South Australia, tribes in the Adelaide district, and the tribes of the Riverina district,² as evidence that at some periodical festival class rules of marriage established by exogamy did not operate, and that hence exogamy did not necessarily limit anything but marriage rights. What we have first to note is, that such festivals are in many cases held for the express purpose of creating marriage ties between the sexes, and not for over-stepping the bounds which already regulate this institution. Thus among the Australian tribes themselves, the Waimbios, "when there was a great gathering at corroborees, wives were exchanged but always within class limits."³ The Watch-andies too are described by Mr. Oldfield as holding a grand semi-religious festival in the spring, for the express purpose of instituting marriage rights, one peculiarity of the customs then practised being the construction of artificial pits in the ground where the males reside during the festival.⁴ This very singular custom is to be found elsewhere, namely, among one of the tribes of India, the Bhondas of Jaypur. "A number of youths, candidates for matrimony, start off for a village where they hope to find a corresponding number of young women and make known their wishes to the elders, who receive them with all due ceremony. They proceed to excavate an underground chamber, if one is not already prepared, having an aperture at the top admitting one at a time; into this the young gentlemen with a corresponding number of young girls are introduced when they make their selection, after which they ascend out of it, each holding the young lady of his choice by the forefinger of one of her hands."⁵ In this case presumably exogamy as between village and village is held to be the rule. Two other instances may be quoted from India, where the class rule is not so observable, though judging by the almost universal practice it undoubtedly exists. The Meria of the plain in the Lakhimpur district have a custom whereby "at one season of the year the adult unmarried males and females of a village spend several days and nights together in one

² *Historical Review*, pp. 99-100.

³ Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, 290.

⁴ *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, new ser. ii. 230. These pits are curiously described by Mr. Oldfield as examples of the grossest forms of phallic worship.

⁵ *Indian Antiquary*, ii. 237.

large building, and if couples manage to suit each other they pair off and marry."⁶ Among the Coorgs "on some great day, a family would call together the whole grama (village), that is, all the families of one of the rice-valleys girt with farm houses, to a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the carpenters for earrings, and the maidens had rice strewn upon their heads. This was in those days called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together, and the young people were now at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives."⁷

We meet with the same kind of thing among the Kafirs of Natal, among whom, at the festival of circumcision and arrival of womanhood, the two sexes mix indiscriminately with the result that if children are born the parents are married.⁸

These examples are perhaps sufficient to show that the periodical festivals to which Mr. McLennan has given prominence, must not be taken as proof of an over-riding of exogamous marriage rights, and a return to endogamous promiscuity. By far the greater number of these festivals, and they occur nearly all over the world, are held for the express purpose of instituting marriage, and they are identified, as in the case of the Bhondas, with the rule of exogamy. May we go a step beyond this tentative result and ask if they explain any stage in the history of primitive marriage?

If we take temporary monandry to be the earliest marriage-condition, answerable to Mr. McLennan's theory of promiscuity, and polyandry to have arisen out of this, the conditions of Nair polyandry, as the earliest form, are important to note. The Nair woman has attached to her two males or four or perhaps more, but she is free to cohabit with any number of men; a Nair man may be one in several combinations of husbands.⁹ This is quite in accordance with the facts of polyandry elsewhere, as for instance, among the Kandians of Ceylon where the evidence proves a man to have had fifteen wives, and a woman thirteen husbands.¹⁰ But we get a further important fact in connection with Nair polyandry, namely, that cohabitation takes place according to rules. What these rules were we do not quite know, except that their object was to regulate

⁶ Hunter's *Statistical Account of Assam*, i., 343.

⁷ Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, p. 132.

⁸ MacLean's *Kafir Laws and Customs*, 98, 101, 126.

⁹ *Studies in ancient History*, 100, 101. This account is derived from slightly different versions given in *Asiatic Researches*, v., 13, *Hamilton Account of the East Indies*, i., 308, and *Buchanan's Journey*, ii., 411, but which Mr. McLennan accepts as "consistent with the three accounts."

¹⁰ *Journ. Ethnological Soc.*, ii. new ser. 292.

the period during which each husband lived with the common wife. Let us assume that pure polyandry had ceased to obtain in any given society, and new forms of marriage had taken its place, and we may well conceive that a periodical marriage festival might mark the new stage. As a matter of fact, polyandry has ceased in all the tribes that have been cited as affording examples of periodical marriage festivals. If these festivals answered Mr. Donald McLennan's explanation, they would at least be found generally, if not always, to obtain within polyandrous tribes who capture their wives from without. But this is not the case. As these festivals are not found amongst existing polyandrous tribes, nor amongst bride capturing tribes, and as in the case of the Coorgs and the Kafirs they are found when tribal development has passed forward to the stage of reckoning kinship through males and of polygamy, there seems to be evidence that the influences which brought about such rites show us both exogamy and polyandry in a state of decay, instead of, according to Mr. Donald McLennan, "exogamy operating within its original limits."¹¹

It is most singular that this proposition may be best shown by the evidence of British custom, and it will doubtless not be unacceptable to the student if the case under this head is stated rather fully. We will first notice the evidence for the existence of polyandry in Britain, and will then examine some survivals in custom which can be best explained, or perhaps may be only explained, by the theory of their direct descent from polyandry.

Mr. McLennan relied upon the well-known passage in Cæsar relating to British custom for proof of an exceedingly rude type of polyandry, only less rude indeed than the earliest type of all, Nair polyandry; but Mr. Fison objects to this evidence on the ground that it really proves group-marriage as he shows it to have prevailed among the Australian blacks.¹² It seems clear, however, that Mr. McLennan's reading of the passage is correct, particularly in view of the clause, *habentur liberi a quibus primum virgines quaque ductae sunt*, which can only mean that there being doubt about the paternity of the children they were considered as belonging to him who first espoused the woman.¹³ If it were a group act—several men marrying several women—no such arrangement could be applicable. Accepting Mr. McLennan's view, then, what we have next

¹¹ *Historical Review*, p. 101.

¹² Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 146.

¹³ Compare Strabo's account of Arabia (xvi. 4) quoted in Robertson's *Kinship in early Arabia*, 133, and see notes to the *Irish Nennius*, p. iv.

to enquire is—does Cæsar's notice exhaust the evidence as to British polyandry?

It seems to be confirmed by the remarkable story reported by Dion (B. lxxvi. Sec. 16) which is as follows: "The wife of Argentocoxus, a certain Caledonian, said to Julia Augusta, who taunted her, that mixedly they united with their husbands: 'we accomplish these things which necessity demands from nature much better than you Romans; for we have openly intercourse with the best men; but you, secretly, the worst men pollute with adulteries.'"

Other classical authorities allude to the practise of an almost unregulated promiscuity from which Mr. McLennan has by evidence proved polyandry was developed. It seems more probable that these descriptions are the extreme "moralist" views of classical writers rather than strictly accurate descriptions, but whether they tend to prove "utter promiscuity" or whether they really refer to a misunderstood system of polyandry the evidence is material to the matter now in view. Strabo (bk. iv.) says: "The inhabitants of Hibernia, more wild than the Britons, esteemed it decent to live openly not only with other women, but even with their mothers and sisters;" and St. Jerome likewise observes that the nation of the Scots (*i.e.* Irish) had not particular wives. Again Solinus referring to the island of Thule says, "they used women in common; certain marriage to none. Even the King of the Hebrides had no wife of his own, but took *by turns* the use of any woman he desired; so that he could neither wish nor hope for children." (Solinus c. 22.)

A curious passage in Giraldus Cambrensis may, perhaps, contain a tradition of the purer polyandry in Wales, "Tegengl is the name of a province in North Wales . . . the same word also was the name of a certain woman with whom it was said each brother had an intrigue, from which circumstance arose this term of reproach 'To have Tegengl, after Tegengl had been in possession of his brother.'"¹⁴ There are also traces of it among the Eddaic lays where it is attributed to Woden and his brothers and where though it is considered as disgraceful it is proposed to Brunhild.¹⁵ It seems to be some confirmation of the view that these references point to the existence of polyandry in Britain, that it was most probably accompanied by female infanticide, the cause in Mr. McLennan's opinion of its first and universal institution, for it is permissible to suggest as parallel evidence, in want of direct evi-

¹⁴ *Description of Wales*, lib. i., cap. xiv.

¹⁵ Vigfusson and Powell's *Sigfred Arminius and other papers*, p. 84.

dence, the custom once surviving among the Prussians of killing all the daughters except one.¹⁶

We may next examine some survivals in custom with a view of ascertaining whether the evidence of polyandry from the early authorities is confirmed by such evidence. Now there is a custom well known to have existed in Scotland in comparatively recent times, known by the name of *hand-fasting*, and an examination of the various forms of this custom will, I venture to think, supply a curious chapter in the history of polyandry, and will help us to understand the periodical festivals which Mr. Donald McLennan has sought to identify with exogamy.

The word so far from being identified with Scotland is pure Saxon, *hand-fæstan* and *hand-fæstung* being found in Saxon speech and in the cognate Icelandic, Swedish and Danish languages,¹⁷ to mean a pledge by giving of the hand. A definition is to be found also in the *Glossarium Suiro-Gothicum*: "hand-fæstning, promissio quæ fit stipulata manu, sive cives fidem suam principi spondeant, sive mutuam inter se, matrimonium inituri, a phrasi fæsta hand quæ notat dextram dextræ jungere." These facts clearly take the word out of the limited range of Scottish custom and place it as a custom of the Gothic races who overran Scotland and England alike.¹⁸

In turning to the evidence of the custom, apart from the name, of hand-fasting, it is found to be most commonly marriage by a simple pledge, which did not mean a marriage sanctioned by the Church, though indirectly recognized by the state. Pennant points

¹⁶ See Elton *Origins of English History*, p. 92.

¹⁷ See Bosworth's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s. v.

¹⁸ A very suggestive passage occurs in Mr. Freeman's account of the marriages of the Norman Dukes, which is worth quoting: "Rolf and Popa were probably married, as the phrase was, 'Danish fashion,' which, in the eyes of the Church, was the same as not being married at all. A woman in such a position might, almost at pleasure, be called either wife or concubine, and might be treated as either the one or the other. Her children might, as happened to be convenient, be branded as bastards or held as entitled to every right of legitimate birth. Rolf put away Popa when he married King Charles' daughter, and when King Charles' daughter died, he took Popa back again. So William, Popa's son, put away Sporta, the mother of his son Richard, when he married Lindgardis of Vermandois. This strange laxity with regard to marriage though spoken of as something specially Danish, was in truth hardly more Danish than Frankish. The private history of the Frankish Kings, Merwings and Karlings alike, is one long record of the strangest conjugal relations. Ordinary concubinage is not amazing anywhere; what stands out specially conspicuous in the history of these kings—nowhere more conspicuous than in the history of these kings—is the liberty which they assumed of divorcing their queens at pleasure, and sometimes of having several acknowledged queens at once." Freeman's *Norm. Cong.* i. 203, 204.

out an instance in the reign of James II. of Scotland when James Sixth Earl of Murray took advantage of the custom with Isabel Innes daughter of the laird of Innes.¹⁹ In Brand's *Popular Antiquities* is quoted a curious passage from *The Christen State of Matrimony*, 1543, from which it may be inferred that the custom was pretty general at that time. In Ireland it existed apparently in a very rude form. A couplet from Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1581, says:

Now ere the lorde sits downe
With concubine or wife
Whereof he often makes exchange
In compasse of his life ;

and a marginal note explains that the "Irishe Karne every yeare once or twice peradventure make exchange of their wiues, as thei like them so will thei keepe them for thei will not be bounde to them." Campion in his *Historie of Ireland*, (p. 23) says, "they can bee content to marrie for a yeare and a day by probation and at the yeare's end to returne her home uppon any light quarrells if the gentlewoman's friendes bee weake and unable to avenge the injurie." O'Donovan in his notes to the *Book of Rights*, (p. 243) mentions a current tradition at Telltown, County Meath, which records that all "marriages which took place in the Kingdom were celebrated there in Pagan times, but the contract lasted for twelve months only, at the expiration of which the parties might separate if they pleased."²⁰

In Wales the same custom prevailed as we learn upon the evidence of Giraldus. He relates that "they do not engage in marriage until they have previously tried the disposition and particularly the fecundity of the person with whom they are engaged. An ancient custom also prevails of hiring girls from their parents at a certain price and a stipulated penalty in case of relinquishing their connection."²¹ This custom certainly lasted down to the reign of Edward I., for it is to be identified with that looseness of the marriage bond which was one of the offences against Llewellyn recorded by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1282.²²

Except the fact that the handfast marriage lasted for a year and a day these examples of the custom do not afford much clue to its

¹⁹ *Tour in Scotland*, p. 81. Millar in his *Origin of Ranks*, 1806, mentions existence of the custom in Scotland, p. 20.

²⁰ *The Irish Neunius*, pp. 179, 182, gives an early example of this looseness of the marriage tie.

²¹ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Description of Wales*, lib. ii., cap. vi.

²² O'Curry's *Manners, etc. of Ancient Irish*: introd. p. clxxviii.

origin. Pennant advances a foolish theory that it originated "from the want of clergy in this county in the days of popery." A writer in *The Statistical Account of Scotland* has something more significant to say. Noticing that the example he quotes occurred at a place "only a small distance from the Roman encampment of Castle-o'er," he goes on to ask, "may not the handfasting have taken its rise from their [the Roman] manner of celebrating marriage, ex usu, by which if a woman with the consent of her parents or guardians lived with a man for a year without being absent three nights, she became his wife?"²²

The suggestive analogy between the Roman law and the Scottish custom indicates the true question which must be asked concerning the origin of this custom, is handfasting a degraded relic of a once well-established law of civilized society, or is it survival, pure and simple, of archaic custom which had not succumbed to the reforming powers of Christianity? If we consider that the Roman law of *usus*, so far as it affected marriage, was a provision of the Twelve Tables and that at the time of Gaius it had already fallen into desuetude (i. 111) it is difficult to see how it could have been transplanted to the distant colony of Britain, and that too, not as a decaying law, but as a law vigorous enough to assert itself among alien people and for centuries after its meaning had been lost. Neither can it have descended from a local observance of the later Roman law which became incorporated into Scottish law, because in the code of Justinian it no longer finds a place. We therefore fail to find any explanation of the custom of handfasting as a degraded relic of a once civilized ceremony and we are forced to make the only alternative enquiry, is it a survival in more or less completeness of archaic custom once prevalent among rude tribes? And it may be pointed out here, that if this should actually be the case, the history of this custom may prove to supply a clue to the origin of the Roman law of *usus*. The two cases would then be put thus. Among the Romans the rude practice of their barbarian ancestors got filtered down to the smallest dimensions, and in this shape was allowed a place in their earliest code of law, only, however, to exist in a decaying state until eventually it dropt out all together. In Britain the self same rude practices of barbarian ancestors became stereotyped into local custom, and without at any time having the force of national law lived on to a later age in much the same fashion as its parallel existed in early Rome. But then there would be an archaic form

²² Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xii., 615.

of the custom from which both Roman and British examples have descended, and it is this form we must discover before it is possible satisfactorily to enter upon any enquiry as to its origin.

There certainly exist forms of the ceremonial attached to handfasting which have been strangely overlooked. To my mind they supply some important details which are absent from the simple forms more generally known. The first example is to be obtained from the Eskdale custom. The earliest account of it that I have met is to be found in Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, 1774. A nearly identical account is given in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, 1794, and this has been transcribed into Ellis's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. Pennant's version is as follows: "Among the various customs now obsolete the most curious was that of Handfasting, in use about a century past. In the upper part of Eskdale, at the confluence of the white and black Esk, was held an annual fair where multitudes of each sex repaired. The unmarried looked out for mates, made their engagements by joining hands, or by handfasting, went off in pairs, cohabited till the next annual return of the fair, appeared there again and then were at liberty to declare their approbation or dislike of each other. If each party continued constant, the handfasting was renewed for life; but if either party dissented, the engagement was void, and both were at full liberty to make a new choice but with this proviso, that the inconstant was to take charge of the offspring of the year of approbation." A still more curious form of the custom obtained in the parish of Campbeltown, which we are told formerly consisted of four distinct parishes, two of which were respectively dedicated to St. Cowie and St. Couslan. "These two saints held very different ideas in respect to marriage. Couslan inculcated the indissolubility of the marriage tie, and if lovers could not marry, their joining hands together through a hole in a small pillar near his church was held an interim tie of fidelity so strong and sacred that no one would ever break it." This ritual at the stone is extremely interesting as a survival from pre-Christian times. But now we turn to the district presided over by Cowie. He is said to have instituted "an annual solemnity at which all the unhappy couples in his parish were to assemble at the church: at midnight all present were blindfolded, and ordered to run round the church at full speed. At a particular moment the word *cabbay* (seize quickly) was pronounced, upon which every man laid hold of the first female he met with, who was his wife till the next anniversary."²⁴

²⁴ Guthrie's *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 168. With these two remarkable cus-

These examples of handfast marriages, as they may be called, throw an altogether different light upon the subject. Getting rid of the modern terminology we unquestionably have here remnants of old tribal custom. What is first to be noted is, that these examples no longer identify the practice with the mere will or fancy of individuals. It is essentially a tribal act taking place at fixed intervals. Such a form must necessarily be older than the instances of individual handfast unions, and we may therefore safely turn to it for an explanation of the origin of the custom.

Supposing the custom to be in full operation, the following important points are presented for consideration as the result of its normal working:

- (1) The periodical [annual] practice of the custom.
- (2) The obvious fact that the "unhappiness" of the temporary union is only a modern gloss upon the old practice of changing wives.
- (3) The possibility of all the women in course of time, the custom being regularly kept up, becoming handfasted to all the men.
- (4) The consequent uncertainty, during the normal operation of the custom, of male parentage.
- (5) The necessity therefore of an original recognition of kinship through females, though in the modern practice the inconstant takes the child.

But all these practices are so little removed from the Nair type of polyandry with its system (1) of periodical regulation between a wife and her several husbands and (2) of both wives and husbands entering into several combinations of marriage groups, that it seems only necessary to seek for an explanation of the stoppage of female infanticide and the consequent restoration of a balance in the numbers of the two sexes to account for the institution of these periodical marriage festivals. In the case of the Scottish examples now under examination this may be traced to the surrounding civilization which favoured the state of inter-tribal peace, the consequent restoration of a balance between the sexes, and which recognised monogamy as the only form of marriage.²⁵ The poly-

toms may be compared another which existed at Canway, Argyllshire. On Michaelmas day, every man mounted his horse unfurnished with saddle and took behind him either some young girl, or his neighbour's wife, and they rode from the village to a certain cross and back again. After the procession, the females entertained the companions of their ride. Guthrie, *ibid* 166.

²⁵ Skene's *Celtic Scotland* iii. 138, says, "The lax relations between the sexes which still survived must have been checked and controlled."

androus tribe which met this tide of new influences would have to fall back upon customs partly answering to their own stage of development and partly answering to the new theory of social morality, and in this way would evolve a system which might perhaps be termed handfast-polyandry.

This seems to me to be the only reasonable conclusion to be obtained from a consideration of the evidence as it appears in British custom. The clear parallels which the handfast ceremonial supplies to the savage festivals must go a long way in determining the origin of both the civilized and savage custom as a crystallization of customs arising from outside influences. If we took the savage examples in some detail, it would be found that nearly all the conditions set forth in the British survivals were paralleled. For instance, there is much to show that all savage tribes who have these festivals exhibit a state of arrested progress. The Australians on the evidence of Messrs. Fison and Howitt show this; the Indian tribes of the Miris and the Coorgs are certainly influenced from the plains, and while now following more advanced customs, show distinct traces of pure polyandry and female kinship; the Kafirs of Natal, while recognizing male kinship and practising polygamous marriages, also reveal traces of the older system. The periodical marriage festivals could not be the result of tribal legislation, and without this cause for its existence it needs some other powerful and general cause which might well be found in a polyandrous society meeting an outside force which checked its normal development and turned it aside into a bye-path.

We will take the Coorg example in detail. (1) Its periodical marriage festival is a close parallel to the British handfasting. (2) Existing custom shows advanced notions of social organization such as we know the Teutonic conquerors of Britain shewed, namely kinship through males, succession being to sons, grandsons, brothers, brothers' sons, daughters, daughters' sons, cousins and adopted sons in the order named;²⁶ the family group consists of two or three generations under the headship of the senior male member.²⁷ (3) Survivals of more ancient custom show that women held property and could choose their husbands;²⁸ that blood feuds between clan and clan existed;²⁹ that exogamy was practiced, bride and bridegroom being of two different village communities;³⁰ that bride-capture

²⁶ Richter's *Manual of Coorg*, 131.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 121.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 120-121.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 128. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

was once practised;³¹ and finally that polyandry was practised.³² And (4) the tide of opposing influences from a higher surrounding civilization is shown to have influenced social development in Coorg by the fact that "the present marriage rites conform to the Hindu usages,"³³ and are therefore the result of Hindu civilization upon the ruder people.

If we carefully consider these points, it will be found that the Coorg forms an exact parallel to the British evidence all along the line. If, then, the British and the Coorg may be taken as types of periodical festivals at which marriage rites are instituted; if we there see exogamy and polyandry in a state of decay, not in a state of normal working; and if we can point to the probable cause of this decay, it seems impossible to admit, with Mr. Donald McLennan, that periodical festivals, such as he has drawn attention to, illustrate the rule of "exogamy operating within its original limits."

G. LAURENCE GOMME.

³¹ After the wedding the bride is locked up in her mother's house for two months as a close prisoner. *Ibid.*, 124.

³² Col. Wilks in his *History of Mysore*. Mr. Richter denies that polyandry once existed, but there is no reason to doubt the evidence of the authorities he quotes—see *Manual of Coorg*, 139—except on the ground of the immorality of the proceeding, which is of course not scientific argument. Cf. McLennan, p. 97; *Indian Antiquary*, ii. 182.

³³ Richter, pp. 133, 134.

NOTES FROM PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

NO. 4. NATIVE TRIBES IN THE INTERIOR OF LAGOS (WEST AFRICA).

THE Jebus, Ibadans, Oyos, and Modakekes do not make human sacrifices. The Ifes are the only people of the countries through which the late mission passed, in which human sacrifices were made, and who have not declared for the abolition of the custom. The Ifes consider themselves the fathers of mankind, the conservators of the world, and the special priests of the deities, and say if they do not propitiate the gods the whole world will spoil.

According to Ondo custom 16 human sacrifices at the very least would have been made on the occasion of their King's death and funeral.

One is to be killed when the corpse is washed, a second at the

gate leading to the King's harem, a third and fourth at the entrances of the two council meeting courts, a fifth near the pathway in the King's street, and a sixth at the market place. All these immolations would have been made before the day of the funeral. When the burial takes place at least 10 persons and a cat would have been buried either alive or dead in his grave to attend (as they believe) his spirit in the unseen world. The commissioner was told that the number of victims on this occasion might have been much larger as the late King had reigned long and became very wealthy. After the burial, and during the three lunar months which must elapse before a new King be installed, several of the King's wives and slaves who had been eyed by the Chiefs for some misbehaviour might be hunted out and murdered in cold blood. Even the ceremonies of installing a new King are accompanied with some human sacrifices.

The men of Jebu are, as a rule, tall and independent-looking, and although for the most part they wear the usual country cloth, it is not unusual to see the flowing robes and loose trousers after the Mahomedan style.

The women in general are short and ugly, and given to disfiguring themselves by streaking their faces with the juice, which resembles lamp-black, of the fruit of a tree called Buje, or by dyeing them red with camwood, or yellow with a paste made from sandstone, the last-named substance producing a most ghastly appearance. We saw some women who had dyed their feet with camwood to resemble red slippers; others had one nostril pierced and a red bead inserted. They wear the ordinary native cloths, and their ornaments consist of brass chains, iron, brass, lead and bead bracelets, Niger-glass armlets, and strings of beads and cowries. The population seem much addicted to revelry; drum-beating and singing were kept up pretty well all night during the time the commissioners were in the capital.

A good many blacksmiths were at work in the town making hatchets, &c., from iron bars imported from Lagos; with the emblem of their sacrifice to Ogun (god of iron), a dog's head, nailed up in a conspicuous place in their workshops.

So far as could be ascertained the Jebus do not kill human beings for sacrifice, but they have an annual sacrifice at Jebu Ode to Obanta (Oba=King, Nita=in the street, i.e., god of state), when a man and a woman are sent into the bush as scape goats for the nation, and are supposed to be taken by the god. As a matter of fact, however, the scape goats generally manage to make their way

to a village called Aha, not far from Oru, which is inhabited solely by people who have undergone a similar trial, where they live unmolested, but they are not allowed to return to any town or village in Jebu. If the victims die in the bush, it is said that the god has accepted them, and if they reach the village it is merely put down to the god's rejecting them. It is supposed that the Awujale has private human sacrifices, but we could learn nothing definite about this.

While the commissioners were conversing it came on to rain slightly and the orderly opened and held over them an umbrella. The Balogun, who was sitting on a camp stool close by us, suddenly discovered the umbrella and darted off with his stool some two or three yards distance in a terrible fright lest the shadow of the umbrella should fall on him.

The umbrella in Jebu is the symbol of sovereignty, none but the King being allowed to use one, and so sacred is this privilege considered that, we were informed, it is death for any Jebu to use an umbrella, and it was amusing to see how people started away from us lest the shadow even of our umbrella should fall upon them.

In Ibadan in every street are fetish houses, small, round, mud structures, with cone-shaped, thatched roofs, some of them capable of holding a couple of persons, and in these devotees sit and meditate; while others are much smaller, and have little wooden images in front of them, which are generally liberally streaked with the blood of a fowl offered in sacrifice, and inside the fetish houses there is generally a small pot of water, an offering to the god.

Many of the women dye their faces and feet red, but do not disfigure them like the Jebus with buje, and the hideous yellow paste is seldom seen. Their ornaments, which are few, are principally silver and brass rings, brass, bead and cowrie armlets, and charms. The children have brass ear-rings and anklets and numerous charms. The men's ornaments are similar to those of the women, and both dress in the usual native cloths, the Mahomedans, of course, adhering to their peculiar dress.

Many of the wealthy Chiefs have upwards of a thousand wives, and minor individuals as many as they can afford to keep. The senior Christian in Ibadan had had 17 wives before being baptised, but had managed to dispose of them all but one.

The eldest son is heir to all his father's property, and on his father's decease takes his wives, save his own mother, who goes to

live with the deceased's eldest brother unless the son provides a separate house for her.

Girls are given in marriage by the parents, but a King or Chief's daughter marries or lives with whom she pleases and changes her consort as often as she likes. A woman under the rank of a Chief's daughter, on becoming a widow, goes to live with her late husband's relatives, and if she marries again the second aspirant to her hand and heart has to pay to these relatives a dowry equal to that which was paid by the first husband for the lady.

Laws in Ibadan are passed by the Council of Chiefs, in which any member may propose a law, all questions being decided by the majority, subject, however, to a veto in the Head Chief. They are promulgated by being proclaimed by the town criers, and their enforcement is left to the Chiefs in their several quarters of the town. Cases of life and death are heard by the Head Chief in Council, who alone can pass sentence of death. If a criminal is condemned to death for murder or serious wounding, he is handed over to the Ogbonis, and executed by them in their house, and the head nailed to the tree in the market place, which is counted a curse. The body is not shown, but supposed to be thrown into a pit, said to be in the Ogboni's house. Theft is seldom punished by death, the imposition of a fine or imprisonment in fetters being the usual penalty, but when sheep or horse stealing or burglary become prevalent an example is made, and the condemned prisoner is executed by the stool of the god Ogun in the market place by the sword bearers of the Chiefs, who place the head on the stool where it remains, but the body, unlike that of a prisoner executed by the Ogbonis, can be bought and removed by the relatives of the deceased, and this form of execution is considered the least degrading. Minor cases are heard and decided by each Chief in his own quarter of the town, but heavy fines and imprisonment in fetters can only be inflicted by the Head Chief. There are no police, the apprehension of offenders being left to the people at large. When thieves are known to have entered the town—and it is curious how quickly their presence is discovered—the public criers go round warning people to look after their belongings and to shut up their houses well at night.

The Bale is the Head Chief of the town, and is chosen by Chiefs, subject to the approval of the Alafin. He appoints the Balogun (war Chief), Otun Bale (right hand of the Bale), Osi Bale (left hand of the Bale), both civil Chiefs, and the Seriki (second war Chief), and a host of minor dignitaries. At the present time the titles of

Bale, Osi Bale, and Seriki are in abeyance, the Chiefs who had held them having died during the present war.

In former times when the Ibadans began a war they paid the Ifes to offer a human sacrifice at Ile Ife to Ogun (god of war and iron) on their behalf, but when the present war, which commenced, one may say, with the revolt of the Ekitiparapo and the raids of the Egbas into Ibadan territory, broke out it was not considered of sufficient importance to require a sacrifice. Later, when the war assumed a more serious aspect than had been expected, the Chiefs wished the customary sacrifice to be offered, but the then Are, being a Mahomedan, overruled them, and none was made. When, however, the Are died at Kiji camp, in August 1885, a slave was sacrificed, the Ibadans attributing their inability to overcome their enemies to the neglect they had shown to the god of war. The last time on which human beings are said to have been sacrificed at the funeral of a Chief was on the death of the late Basorun (the highest title next to Alafin in the Yoruba country) in 1867, but whether there really was any human sacrifice on that occasion is uncertain; we could learn nothing to make us consider it otherwise than mere rumour. It may therefore be said that the Ibadans do not practise human sacrifice, for even in the instance of the war sacrifice, they retain the services of the Ifes to perform the rite.

Ibadan (Iba=ambuscade, Odan=grass field) was originally inhabited by the Egbas, who were driven out by the Jebus and Ifes about the year 1813, and took refuge at Abeokuta (Abe=under, Okuta=stone), their present town. When the Yoruba country was invaded by the Fellatahs about 1820-1 many of the Yoruba people settled in Ibadan, and subsequently increasing in numbers they waged successful wars against the Jebus and Ifes, and compelled them eventually to leave the town.

The musical instruments of the Ibadans consist of drums (ilu), cow horns (ipe), wooden instruments, a cross between a trumpet and a flute, and a rude imitation of the guitar, a two-stringed instrument named molu. The flutes are of three kinds, the fami fami about two feet in length, giving a loud sound as of a trumpet, the ekutu somewhat shorter and less powerful, and the fere, not unlike in size and tone to the English flute, but in all three kinds the holes in the cylinder are stopped by the fingers and not by keys, and the music produced, both by flutes, drums, horns, and guitars, is most discordant to European ears, although there is a certain amount of harmony in it, and time is observed. The dancing indulged in is much the same as is found in all African countries, and

consists mostly of posturing, a single man or woman dancing only at a time.

It was formerly the custom among the Fiditi for the eldest son, who bore the title of Aremo, to reign with his father, at whose decease he was supposed "to go to sleep," *i.e.*, to kill himself, the Yorubas having a proverb that "a man cannot serve the father and the son," and the successor to the throne, who must be a descendant of a person who had worn the crown, was chosen from another branch of the royal line. The late Alafin Adelu, however, declined on his father's death either "to go to sleep" or to cease to reign, hence his rupture with the Are, and the destruction of Ijaye. On the death of Adelu, his son, Lawani, attempted to follow his father's example, but he had proved himself so cruel and overbearing when he was Aremo that the Oyos would not have him as King, and he was forced to fly. The present Alafin, who is a brother of Adelu, was then elected King, so that the ancient custom of succession has been completely set aside in these last-named rulers.

Mr. Johnson told the commissioners that in interpreting before the Alafin he had to be most careful to choose his words, as court etiquette was most strict in reference to the language used, and words which have more than one distinct meaning, of which there are many in the Yoruba language, cannot be spoken if one of the meanings is in any way objectionable.

The Alafin is supreme judge and decides all cases of importance, and he alone can pass sentence of death. The Basorun, the Chief next in rank to the Alafin in the whole Yoruba country, resides at Oyo, and advises the King. The title is hereditary, there being a Basorun line, but the individual of the line who is to bear the title is selected by the Alafin. The Alafin also appoints the Are Onakanfo (generalissimo), who may be a native of any place and reside where he pleases. The honour has generally been bestowed on some wealthy and troublesome Chief to keep him quiet. There is no Bale in Oyo, the King residing there, but there are innumerable Chiefs of different grades and titles.

Human sacrifice is not practised, so far as we could ascertain, among the Oyos, but the Oyos have a proverb that "when the King dies the ground spoils," *i.e.*, there are many burials; and there is little doubt that the principal wives and slaves of an Alafin disappear at his death. They are supposed to kill themselves; whether, however, they really make away with themselves or are slaughtered was not made quite clear. There is a curious legend that the

body of a deceased Alafin is cut up and buried in different parts of the town, but nothing authentic could be learnt on this point.

Father Baudin has been travelling about the Yoruba country for a number of years, and is said to be a perfect master of the Yoruba language. He has written a book of his experiences, and has also compiled a Yoruba-French dictionary, and he is thoroughly conversant with the customs of the country, and the rites of fetishism.

The marks worn on the faces of Yorubas are of five distinct kinds, denoting the principal families; and these, again, are divided by slight differences in breadth or direction. The Abaja marks are divided into two classes, the Abaja Mefa $\equiv \equiv$, six horizontal cuts on the cheek, being peculiar to the Alafin and his family, and the Abaja Mejo $\equiv \equiv \equiv$, eight horizontal lines on either cheek, worn by all slaves born in the royal household. The Abaja Mejo marks are also used by the Basorun line, but the cuts are not so broad or deep as those worn by the royal slaves.

The Keke marks are also of two kinds, the Keke and the Keke Olowu or Olowu Odan. The first are also perpendicular marks down each side of the face, and are worn by the Olokunesin, and one or two other tribes. The second are only to be found on middle-aged or old people, now having gone out of fashion, and consist of short perpendicular cuts in lines from the sides of the head to the jaw, where they turn inwards to each side of the mouth. The marks worn by the Onikoyi, Olugbon, and Aresa, three vassal Kings, and their people are \equiv four parallel horizontal cuts on each cheek. The Pele, $|||$ and the Gombo \equiv marks are peculiar to the Mahomedans, but are fast dying out, the Mahomedans having given up marking their children. The first are three short perpendicular cuts on either cheek, and the second three parallel horizontal lines on either cheek. The Abaja Olowu cuts \equiv , three short perpendicular and three short horizontal marks, on the cheeks are worn by the Owu people, who formerly used the Olowu Odan marks.

There was a severe thunderstorm while the commissioners were at the interview, and a house was struck by lightning and set on fire in Mesi Ipole, the flames being plainly visible in the Ibadan camp. All the Ogbonis in the Ibadan camp turned out and paraded the streets with drums beating and loud praisings of Sango (god of thunder) who had deigned to visit the earth in the form of lightning. If a person is killed by lightning in the Yoruba country the body is considered almost sacred and the spirit is supposed to have gone to Sango. If any one is stunned by lightning and the Ogbonis hear of it they very quickly despatch the unfortunate creature to Sango,

saying that it was clear that the god wanted the person and, therefore, it was not right for such a person to continue to live. There is a story told of a woman at Ibadan, who was struck by lightning and stunned, but who recovered in a short time from the shock. The Ogbonis did not hear of this occurrence for some days afterwards, but immediately on being informed of it some of their society proceeded to the woman's house. They found the woman quite recovered and employed on household duties, but they politely informed her that she had no business to be alive as she was wanted by Sango. The woman not unnaturally wished to dispute this, and an argument on the point ensued, which was settled by one of the Ogbonis administering a blow with a club on the wretched creature's head and killing her.

It is not an uncommon thing in these countries for a man to pawn himself (sell himself) in order to get married, for a wife costs money, and when one of his sons becomes old enough to work he exchanges him for himself and becomes free. There were all manner of legends as to the wonders to be seen at Ile Ife, but it is almost needless to say that none were seen. The Ifes call themselves the conservators of the world, and the oldest of mankind, and boast that all the crowned personages in the world, including the white man's sovereign, went out originally from Ile Ife, and it is curious the deference with which other tribes treat them, although they may be at war with them. They are a singularly stubborn and mean tribe, take all they can get and give nothing in return, and never entertain strangers. In the time when they and the Modakekes were living amicably they made the latter entertain Chiefs and others who visited them, and as every one was supposed to be a descendant of the Ifes they looked upon all strangers who visited their town in the light of pilgrims who came, as they put it "to make their house good," that is, to pay reverence to departed ancestors. On a former occasion when a peace had been made between the Modakekes and Ifes after a rupture, the latter having been driven from Ile Ife, they swore to each other by the god of iron and war, Ogun, that whoever fired first upon the other in the future should incur the anger of the god and be overwhelmed. However, when a rupture took place again the Ifes evaded the oath by climbing into trees and firing down upon the Modakekes, who fired back from the ground, and were therefore accused of breaking their oath, the ground being sacred to the god.

At the entrance to the town on the Oke Igbo side there is a short avenue with spreading trees and "bush" on either side which

is called the grove, and in the "bush" on the left side is situated the place of execution and where human sacrifices were offered. There is a curious superstition about the place which does not allow of people passing each other from different directions in the avenue, and if, therefore, people were leaving the town, anyone arriving at the entrance to the avenue would have to wait till they emerged, when they would go on, and people at the other end would have to wait for them, and so on.

Up to the beginning of the present year, when Governor Moloney wrote to them so strongly on the subject, the Ondos offered human sacrifices to their deities. They worship a spirit called Oro Doko or Male Doko, and they have a yearly custom which lasts three months. Every ninth day during the custom the women are obliged to shut themselves up in their houses from 6 a.m. till noon, while the men parade the streets beating drums, wrestling, dancing, and singing. A woman who appears in the streets during the forbidden hours does so at the risk of her life, and dogs and fowls if met with are killed and eaten by the men.—[*Further Correspondence respecting the War between Native Tribes in the Interior.*—C.—5144 of 1887.]

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Archæology.

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ARCHÆOLOGY IN EGYPT.

TO the archæologist who wishes to understand those past civilizations of the West, which have built up our present life and history, the very basis of enquiry must be that grand and long enduring power of Egypt which has underlain them all. Greek art and literature had their foundations fixed in Egypt; and without that civilization from the Nile it would have been impossible for them to have had the same form, or fulfilled the same functions in the world, that we now see in history. Carthage, Rome, and the West all profited by the labours of Egypt through the Phœnician commerce, which propagated that skill and knowledge which the Phœnician nation itself was incapable of originating. In later days, Egypt was the most fertile soil for the growth of Greek thought; and to the Alexandrian school belongs the glory of having started into perfect being the present conceptions of geometry and geography, which we have only been able to build upon and enlarge.

Moreover, from its peculiarities of climate and circumstances, the Nile valley has preserved to us more of its past greatness than perhaps any other land. Its temples, tombs, and houses are in many cases almost exactly as they stood thousands of years ago. And this preservative power has perpetuated not only its own remains, but those of other nations entrusted to it. In no other country can we readily unearth the manuscripts, the textiles, the embroideries, or the paintings of Greek and Roman life, in the same perfect condition in which we find them in Egypt.

While many seats of ancient civilization are almost closed to research by the paralyzing power of Turkey, the case is different under the government of the Khedive. Although exploration in Egypt was practically forbidden to outsiders under the influence of Mariette, the more enlightened views of Prof. Maspero, and the increase of English control in the country have loosened the former restrictions almost as far as reason will permit. The law stands as it has long done; and the rule is that one-half of all antiquities

discovered belongs to the government, as in Turkey. But in practice, now, accidental discoverers, on giving notice of their finds, are to be fairly rewarded, if anything is required for the national museum at Bulak : while systematic excavators, if approved by the department of antiquities and the Ministry, are allowed to work on condition of yielding to the government such a selection of objects as may be needed for the museum ; everything found belonging nominally to the government until remitted to the finder. Under the present régime this system works fairly enough, for no one could reasonably wish to see Egypt stripped of all its treasures, and the country deprived of the power of retaining a representative collection of the former labours of its population. The only real grievance of the excavator on parting from his finds, must be in the insecure condition for their preservation in the country ; rain, inundation, and robbery having all damaged the national collection in its present unsuitable storage.

The state of the country is favourable for work : there is security for life and property, and the people are willing to take very low wages ; 7½d a day, or 2d a cubic metre, being a rate which will secure any number of men required. The fellahin are a very tractable folk ; and when once assured of a master's honesty, justice, and determination, there is no difficulty in dealing with them. Having noticed now what may be done, we will turn to what is being done.

The Department of Antiquities works for the Museum in any site that is deemed most promising ; but practically the government work is limited to Memphis and Thebes, other sites receiving far less attention. Of such excavations no complete official record is kept, and only isolated accounts appear from time to time in Egyptological publications. Much of the work is conducted by Arab overseers, and there is scarcely ever any continuous supervision of a European manager. Under these circumstances a large part of the objects do not find their way to the government ; and, as the workmen are not rewarded for their finds, this is not at all surprising. Of foreign work a small amount of excavation is done by the French School of Egyptology in Cairo ; but most of the labours of that institution are given to copying and publication under the excellent rule of Maspero, that every member must copy one complete monument each year. In short, it is more a school for the language than for the archæology of the country as a whole. The publications of the Tomb of Seti I., and other remains, by the Mission Archæologique Française, are fine pieces of work. Of English enterprise the Egypt Exploration Fund is the corporate

representative ; and the discoveries of Pithom, Naukratis, Daphnae, and Goshen, are among its principal results. There is besides this full scope for private excavations ; though unfortunately, the present writer seems to be the only person—English or otherwise—who systematically uses such opportunities. Provided the Egyptian government is satisfied on the principal points of good faith in the agreement, of due diligence in the preservation of all the antiquities found, and of proper care for the archæological results, as distinct from mere plundering, no difficulties, I believe, would be placed in the way of research in a specified locality—at least in the Delta.

With regard to the manner of work necessary, it should always be borne in mind that no excavator is justified in partiality for one class of antiquities ; the business of an excavator is to preserve everything that is found which can be of archæological value ; and his first duty is to attend to its safety, and to register the particulars of its position, so far as they can be understood and explained. To ransack an ancient site solely with a view to one object, is as unscientific as the work of treasure-hunters ; and there is a similar store of future curses awaiting all those who dig with one point only in view, and destroy everything else ; whether that one point be gold, jewellery, armour, statuary, inscriptions, skeletons, or any other speciality. As the science of archæology advances, more and more details will be understood, and more will be required of the worker ; to destroy three-quarters of the history remaining to us in the course of reaching one quarter is wholly unjustifiable. The first duty of an excavator is then to consider, not his immediate wants and wishes, but the responsibility which he undertakes in opening up a place, and destroying for ever the evidences of objects, and their collocation. He should always remember that if he does not diligently observe and note all that can be seen as work goes on, the information is being wantonly thrown away by him, and he is doing perhaps vastly more harm than good.

If an excavator's first duty then is to observe, his first principle must be the scientific use of the imagination, while always maintaining a freedom from bias, or any wish to prove one thing or another. Nothing is so useful as free speculation, exercising the mind in constructing every theory which will account for the known facts. When beginning on any site the facts are generally but few, and a large field of possibilities is open. On reviewing in imagination all solutions which will account for these facts it is seen in what directions their critical points will lie ; what spots will show decisively which view is correct. The great value of framing

several hypotheses is that the evidential importance of most trifling details is far more readily seen and remembered. If we know what we expect to find in a given place according to various hypotheses, we are the more ready to seize on minute indications which prove or disprove a point, although they would seem quite meaningless and unnoticeable if the mind were not already lying in wait for a decision. Of course it need hardly be repeated that the casting out of bias is necessary before all things; to be burning to get some result, but to be quite indifferent what the result shall be, or which way it shall tell, is the needful condition of mind for all research. This is so often misunderstood that there is the more need to be explicit on the matter. Never make a hole without knowing what you expect to prove or disprove by it; and always bear in mind what the reason is for every man's work in the place; this is the golden principle for an excavator.

In Egypt the rainless state of the country—such slight rain as falls not sufficing to maintain any close vegetation—renders work easier than in other lands. The outlines of mud brick walls can be noticed on the surface of the ground; and the whole plan of a building may sometimes be made from colour alone, without any remains above the surface. Hence the first inspection of a site will often show enough to guide future work. The all-important index to periods is to be seen in the pottery. To go over a town without knowing the different styles of the several periods is to go over it blindfold. When once the peculiar colours, pastes, decoration, and forms of each age are known (and there is unhappily no museum or collection in which this can be learned), then the age of every patch of ground, and of every stratum is labelled, and can be read off, to within a single century in some cases. To establish a home for a complete series of Egyptian pottery, all dated and with localities fixed, is the most urgent need at present of practical archaeology in Egypt; but sad to say I do not know of a single place in the world where such collections would even be properly housed and arranged if they were sent in, though in perfect condition and carriage paid. If there is anywhere such a museum I can assure it of hearty support; but so far, it seems as if collections had not yet grown out of the "curiosity" stage, when gold and pearl are the attractions, and scientific research must take its chance.

The key to dealing with the native diggers is a silver one; the main principle being to claim and take possession of all that is found, while at the same time giving the finder as much as he would be likely to get if a native dealer came round and bought

things from him. To pay in fact by results as well as by time. The 10 per cent, or so, extra over and above the wages, is fully discounted by the men, and more so, in their reckonings; and it is equivalent to a higher rate of wages in attracting better men. Such payments, moreover, ensure the most careful preservation of everything found, and as much caution as a man can give to avoid breaking what he turns up. Of course not more than half or a third of what is shown is worth keeping; but to look over it is a small tax on time, compared with the chances of getting important things which do not look very attractive. Care is of course needed to hit the mean in valuing things, and to ensure getting everything while avoiding having things foisted into the work. The safeguard against this consists in giving exactly the same for anything no matter where it comes from, so that there is no temptation to lie about it; and when men know that a single lie or concealment detected will deprive them of profitable and coveted work, they will hesitate to mislead you without cause.

The subjects for research will determine in most cases the place and manner of working, though no good opening which occurs accidentally should be slighted. These subjects we will now consider. History—political and chronological—takes the lead; and here the old familiar lacunæ still await us. The dark periods of the Ist-IIIrd, the VIIth-Xth, the XIVth-XVIIth dynasties still need clearing; also the royal succession between the Ramesside times of the XXth dynasty and the renaissance of the XXVIth is still very obscure in parts. It is not probably to any one great find that we must look for light on these points, so much as to isolated discoveries here and there which will gradually fall into place. Of the earliest times Abydos ought to show traces; but like the other primæval settlement of Memphis, it has been so overlaid with later remains that it is hard to find any part in which to search for the first three dynasties. It must, however, always be remembered that although great stress has been laid upon the agreement between Manetho's history and the lists of kings at Abydos, Karnak, and Sakkara, yet all these lists belong to the official edition of State history promulgated under the XIXth dynasty; hence all that their agreement proves is what the accepted historical beliefs were in 1400 B.C., after a series of great convulsions and periods of barbarism. How much value we are then to assign to this list for facts which occurred nearly as long before its compilation as we live after it, is obviously a matter for discretion. It may be a true and correct record, and so far the

monumental evidence has not contradicted it ; but as there is a persistent silence of the dated monuments for the first three dynasties—for hitherto not a single fragment has been certainly proved to be contemporary with that cycle—we must at least pause before we give full weight to the copies of a list compiled thousands of years later than that. Of the IXth dynasty Mr. Griffith appears to have found evidence at Siut, as yet unpublished, and more may be looked for at Heracleopolis. While the later chasm of the Hyksos period has been partially filled by the statue of King Raian, the piece of an obelisk of Apepi, and the Hyksos heads and fragments found by M. Naville at Bubastis. Probably other towns of the E. Delta may contain similar traces to these, and to those found by Mariette at Tanis ; it is much to be hoped that Bubastis will be exhaustively finished, and that similar sites may then be attacked. For the later history Thebes is the main source, but isolated monuments in other parts of the country are very valuable as pointing out the range of dominion of various kings.

For geography the most useful data are obtained by a small amount of excavation, enough to unearth one or two monuments with the place-names, at many different sites. In Upper Egypt there are few, if any, questions of importance outstanding ; but in the Delta a large part of the capitals of the nomes are still in doubt. Some—such as the capitals of the Libyan, the Arabian nome, and Am Pehu, and the cities of Buto, and Naukratis—have been lately determined, but much still remains to be done for the capitals as well as the lesser towns.

Language, hitherto, has been much more thoroughly studied than any other branch of Egyptology, probably because it can be worked on at any time in the quiet of a European study, and does not need the bodily fatigue and expense of other researches. Far more time indeed has been devoted to this one branch than has been given to all the other subjects put together ; but important as it is, it is not by any means the whole of Egyptology, any more than the study of eyes or of teeth is the whole of comparative anatomy.

Mythology also has had a full share of attention, and is now in a stage in which the historical development of it in various periods is the only line for farther advance in safety. Lanzzone's mythological dictionary—when finished—will be a repertory of all the forms and names of divinities known at the present time. Naville's critical edition of the Book of the Dead gives the various readings of the large body of good hieroglyphic copies. Maspero's recent

lectures at the College de France have opened up the pyramid texts and the cult of Ra. And such work as Dümichen's publication of the greatest of all the Theban tombs, is also most valuable for study. My last season's work at Hawara has shown the late continuance of mummification into the IVth or Vth cent., A.D., and also the habit of decorating the mummies with portraits and preserving them for years amongst the living, a custom which belongs to the Roman age of the IInd and IIIrd centuries.

In social history there is a great need of further work. How the nation lived, what its organization was at different periods, what were the relations of civil and military power, the changes of laws (of which our knowledge is almost all of the latest age), the proportion of idle hands, the occupations of the leisure classes, the system of barter or trade, the co-existence of different races in the nation, all these and many other problems are scarcely touched on yet, except in the Ptolemaic times, and somewhat under Ramessu II., by Revillout; and here lies one of the most interesting fields for further research. Domestic life also needs elucidating, particularly in its historical changes; the forms of houses, the use of utensils, the food used, the disposal of refuse, and the habits of the people are only known to us in scattered examples. Systematic observation in the ruins of towns of various ages is much needed for this subject. Maspero's charming volume on Egyptian Archæology touches more than any other book on this, beside being the only general work on the whole of Egyptian antiquities.

Architecture has been well studied in some periods, though scarcely anything is known about others. When we consider that not a single temple or royal tomb is known of that most splendid period the Middle Kingdom, or XIIth dynasty—and that only a single temple is known of the old kingdom—it is evident how great our ignorance still is. In obvious facts of construction, moreover, various recent books of repute can all shew some strange blunders and oversights; length for breadth, granite for limestone, pavement for foundation, rock for built stone, are some of the sort of mistakes which are continually to be met with. The most urgent work in this line at present is a careful excavation and plan-drawing of the remains of any temples before the XVIIIth dynasty.

In Art there are also very similar gaps and deficiencies, in spite of all the attention given to it. What is needed is far more historical discrimination, and a more definite tracing of the development of various forms and designs. Every century had its special style, its own colouring—especially of glazes—and its peculiar fashions,

and all these need to be treated separately and not all massed together as "Pharaonic." Another branch of discrimination greatly needed is that of the various schools of work. The differences between the statues in different materials, though of one period, is striking. Those in black granite are usually the finest in execution; next to them comes the limestone school of Memphis; then the red granite school of Assuan; and worst of all the sandstone school. To lump all of these together is much as if all pictures painted in one century were classed together, whether Venetian or Lombard, Flemish or French, Spanish or English. We need to find the quarry of each statue, and then to classify Egyptian sculpture according to its schools as well as by its periods.

We will now briefly consider what isolated subjects might well be taken up by any one worker, without requiring excavation. The tomb paintings have never been systematically worked through; and any one who would collect and classify all the information from all sources on any one point would do good service. The forms of metal vases, for instance, are abundantly shown, and are often of beautiful design; such objects have been so generally melted up that a series of dated drawings would be our only source for a history of Egyptian metal working, from the bronze vases of the old kingdom, and the gold and silver ones of Theban paintings, to those shown in temple ceremonies in the late times. Jewellery again needs a similar collective treatment, down to the necklaces and earrings on paintings of the Roman age, and a comparison of all examples in various museums. Woven patterns also are a good field of research, as they are often drawn on figures, and represented on the roofs of tombs. A most important matter is the variation in the forms of hieroglyphs: fashion had almost as much to do with these as with anything else, and the styles of various ages are quite recognisable; but a serious classification of the variations is necessary on an historical basis, in order to train the eyes of those who—relying on copies—are quite oblivious to the importance of monumental style in questions of age. The curious primitive rock drawings of Upper Egypt much need collecting, with due regard to their degree of weathering. The matter of foreign races and their types I have done in bulk, though not so fully as is yet desirable; more casting and photographing would be well spent on this subject. The glazed vases are being now classified and treated as a whole, by an English authority; and of the historical scarabaei I have collected drawings which I hope to publish before long. The other scarabaei in general still need a cataloguer.

One of the most broadly important aspects of Egyptology is the contact of Egypt with other nations, or Egypt's place in history. Unfortunately no positive contact is yet known before the age of the recently discovered tablets of Tell el Amarna, which give in cuneiform writing the names of various Babylonian kings, contemporaries of Amenhotep III. and Khunaten; Kurigalzu and Dushratta being coeval with the former, and Burnaburias with the latter. This is of special value in the Kassite dynasty, as Burnaburias had been dated about 1430 B.C., (Sayce), and Khunaten according to the probable chronology reigned just about this period, or, perhaps, half a century earlier. It seems so far possible that Tii, the celebrated wife of the grand monarch Amenhotep III., is the daughter of Dushratta, to whose marriage one of his letters to Amenhotep refers. Doubtless much more will be ascertained when all these tablets are translated and compared. The well known connections of the XIXth dynasty with the Khita, of the XXIIInd dynasty with Rehoboam, and of the XXVth dynasty with Assurbanipal need not be recapitulated. The contact with the Greeks, and the influence of Egypt on Greek art and manufactures has been greatly cleared by the discovery of Naukratis and of Daphnae, the two great settlements of the archaic Greeks in Egypt, in the VIIth century B.C. These explorations show that those Greek settlements had each its own distinct school of potters, and that they painted vases in styles peculiar to each city; also that metals, and especially iron, were largely smelted and wrought in these places, and that writing was employed at an early period. In everything the substance is Greek, while the influence is Egyptian. In still later times Egypt was again the stem on which Greek thought was grafted, and thus arose the wondrous school of Alexandria, the active and pregnant labours of which body will never be effaced from our modern science. Though our immediate descent of civilisation may be through Rome and Greece, yet Egypt will always remain the grand ancestor of us all.

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

AVENTICUM, THE ROMAN METROPOLIS OF HELVETIA.

OF the thousands who annually travel through Switzerland, few, perhaps, would be able to say where the chief town of Roman Switzerland was situated, and it has been seldom visited even

by British Archæologists, who have but a slight conception of the character and importance of its remains. This may, perhaps, in some measure be accounted for by the fact that, though in former days a city of great splendour occupying a site on the principal line of route between Italy and Gaul, it now lies out of the beaten track, and remains buried in great part beneath the ground.

Avenches, the modern French name for the ancient Aventicum, lies about a mile and a half S.E. of the picturesquely situated little lake of Morat in the northern part of the Canton de Vaud. It can be reached by rail from Lausanne *via* Payerne in two hours, or by steamboat from Neuchâtel in about the same time. The town is situated on an elevation on a pleasant, cheerful, healthy and undulating plateau, which, with its sturdy industrious peasantry, its thriving farms and lovely lakes, presents the appearance of a huge garden thickly dotted with picturesque houses, amid fertile and highly cultivated fields and pastures, interspersed with tree-crowned hills.

In however slight a sketch of the archæology of this place, it would be wrong to omit referring to the interesting prehistoric epoch, which is presented by the numerous lake-dwellings discovered in the adjoining lake of Morat, more especially as there is evidence in them of a connecting link between historic and prehistoric Aventicum. Upwards of sixteen of these lacustrine sites have been found in this lake, and the numerous relics discovered there shew that they existed from the period of the early stone age till the time of the Roman invasion, or even still later. Those interested in the subject would do well to visit the margin of the Morat lake at the promontory named "Bec de Greng," distant about one hour's walk from Avenches, where can be seen hundreds of piles projecting from the lake bottom, on which the ancient people, who resided there long before the Christian era, fixed platforms of timber and thereon built their dwellings. The piles at this spot extend over an area of 4,900 square ft. for the most part in the lake (the waters of which have receded of late years), thus forming a large station or village. A great number of objects have been found buried in the mud amongst the piles, consisting of implements of stone and bone, such as hatchets, chisels, needles, awls, besides a vast quantity of the bones of animals, pottery and so forth, being the accumulated débris of centuries, and which mainly have dropped from time to time from the platforms and houses built on them, or been cast down at the period of the final destruction of the village. I collected several specimens there; among them being several fragments of pottery of

a crude form, some of them of the kind peculiar to the early stone age. This earliest variety is a coarse, dark red kind of earthenware containing numerous grains of quartz, and there are 12 or 15 varieties shewing the rude kind of ornamentation adopted by these early people on their hand-made utensils. I was fortunate also in fishing up, from a depth of 3 ft. in the water, a curious little vase. It is of black ware, smooth, displaying some elegance of form, and with a delicate design encircling it: it no doubt belongs to the age of bronze, this site having been inhabited at that period, as well as during the earlier stone age, as proved by the discovery there of numerous bronze spear-heads and similar objects peculiar to that epoch. A bone needle recovered from this spot, also some charred wheat and bones of animals, including a skull of the extinct marsh cow (*Bos brachyeros*), were given to me by the steward of Count Portales, whose chateau and well-wooded grounds lie close to the lake. At the station on the lake at Montellier, half an hour's walk north of Greng, in addition to other relics usually found at these sites, there were discovered at a great depth a large number of vases, which shew by their design and ornament a greater degree of taste and skill than have been seen elsewhere in the Swiss lake dwellings. Some even resemble the specimens of the potter's art found in Etruscan tombs, and it is a noteworthy fact that in the very locality where the Romans founded their Helvetian metropolis there existed, even in prehistoric times, the evidence of a state of civilisation more advanced than in any other place in the province. A connecting link between the prehistoric and Roman period of this ancient metropolis was established also by the discovery within the walls of Aventicum of a bronze die for the largest type of Gallic gold coin, affording positive evidence of the early progress of the district. This die can be seen in the Museum at Avenches. Tacitus, writing about A.D. 69, speaks of the Helvetians as originally a Gallic people, renowned for their valour and exploits in war, and he designates Aventicum "*Caput gentis*,"¹ or capital of Helvetia. It acquired this title most probably on account of its comparatively advanced state of civilisation, as already indicated, and its conspicuous position on the main route between Italy and Germany. It was also the centre of a net-work of very perfect and much frequented military roads, this city and Nyon (*Colonia Equestris*) situated on the shores of the lake of Geneva, being the only points of departure for mile-stones in Helvetia. Although it is referred to by Tacitus, Julius Cæsar, who vanquished the Helvetians at Bibracte near

¹ Tacitus, Hist. 68.

Autun (then within the boundaries of Helvetia) in B.C. 58., does not mention Aventicum. Tacitus relates how the ferocious Cecina, the lieutenant of the Emperor Vitellius, was provoked by the Helvetians, who, not having heard of the death of Galba, were unwilling to acknowledge his successor as Emperor, whereupon Cecina took the opportunity of a quarrel between the 21st Legion and the Helvetians to march eagerly against them. Tacitus goes on to remark that of late years it may be said of the Helvetians that the history of their ancestors was their only glory, and that now their spirit, though fierce while danger was at a distance, began to drop when it was near. To oppose Cecina, the Helvetians chose Claudius Severus to command their forces, but they neither knew the use of arms nor methods of discipline, and perceiving that a contest must lead to their destruction, they fled, were overtaken and slain. Cecina, having desolated the surrounding country, laid siege to Aventicum, the capital city of the Helvetians, when the inhabitants sent deputies to him to offer terms of surrender. Their submission was accepted, and Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was executed. The rest were left to the mercy and resentment of Vitellius. The Helvetians sent ambassadors to the new Emperor, who menaced and abused them. At length Claudius Cossus, one of the deputies, and a remarkably eloquent man, appealed to the Emperor and his soldiers and so moved them to compassion that, says Tacitus, after torrents of tears and begging for milder treatment, they obtained immunity and their city was saved from destruction.

But it was not till the time of the immediate successors of Vitellius that Aventicum reached its zenith, the great patrons of the Helvetian metropolis being said to be Vespasian and Titus, whose busts now occupy a prominent position in the local museum. It is generally asserted that Sabinus, the father of Vespasian, carried on a banking business at Aventicum, and that he died there, also that his son Vespasian and grandson Titus were born there; but on referring to Suetonius, an almost contemporary historian, I find he simply states that Sabinus (son of Titus Flavius Petro) was born at Reate (the modern Rieti) in the Sabine mountains, and after returning from Asia, where he had been honoured with the title of "the honest tax farmer," became a usurer among the Helvetians, where he lived the remainder of his life. All historians, however, agree in considering Aventicum as his place of residence in Helvetia, and assign to Sabinus an inscription found there which speaks of a

man who had done much good in that town. The first line of the inscription and the name of the person in whose honour it was written is wanting, but it records the fact that he had filled the office of quæstor in Asia, and subsequently acquired very deservedly the title of patron and protector of Aventicum.² Such being the case, the Emperor Vespasian, who was born five years before the death of Augustus, at the village of Phalacrino, near Reate, may not improbably have passed some time in this city in his youth or early manhood, although it is known his main education was conducted in Italy under the care of his grandmother, Tertullia. It is also probable that he would reside there sometimes *en route* to Germany and Great Britain. Of the Emperor Titus Suetonius asserts that he was born near the Septizonium at Rome. It is remarkable that of the many inscriptions found at Aventicum none bear the names of Vespasian or Titus.³

There is no reason to doubt, however, that both of these emperors showed a great predilection for the place, and that in their time and through their influence Aventicum became a populous and important city, and a large number of their coins have been found there. It contained when most prosperous some 50,000 or 60,000 inhabitants (the modern town has less than 2,000); its public buildings were of great magnificence, as shown by the massive and elaborately sculptured fragments of friezes, remains of a theatre, amphitheatre, and other objects still to be seen there.

Succeeding emperors likewise favoured Aventicum in different ways. An inscription now built into the exterior of the wall of the modern church of Avenches indicates this to have been the case as regards Trajan, while Hadrian is known among other things to have renewed the milestones which had existed there since 128 B.C.⁴

After the Antonines the Roman influence in Helvetia declined, and St. Jerome, writing in the fourth century, dates the destruction of Aventicum by the Alemanni as having occurred in A.D. 264, while Ammianus Marcellinus who, in A.D. 360, was in the suite of the Emperor Julian the apostate when he travelled through Gaul, states that he found the city of Aventicum, recently so glorious, now deserted, and its half-ruined edifices attesting its former splendour. Subsequently the whole province was overrun by hordes of Burgundians and Germans, the extent of whose conquests may

² Mommsen, *Insc.* 177.

³ Mommsen, *Inscrip. falsæ vel suspectæ*, p. 114.

⁴ See *Insc.* in Museum of Lausanne.

be recognised in some measure in the division of languages which now prevail in the German and French Cantons.

The great wall of defence which surrounded Aventicum is considered by Mommsen to have been erected previous to the accession of the emperors. It was about 4 miles in circumference and of a nearly octagonal outline; it was 25 ft. high, and 12 ft. thick on the low-lying land where the soil was loose and marshy, and 4 ft. thick on the rocky higher land. Towers were built in the walls at regular intervals of about 200 yards, numbering about 80; they were 40 ft. high and of two stories. These towers were singular in being continuous on the exterior with the straight line of the wall; that is to say, without projecting at all, but convex towards the interior only, as if intended to suppress sedition from within no less than reject attacks from without. A similar unusual construction was observable in the Roman towers erected in the ancient walls which once surrounded Wiesbaden in Germany, and in some others along the banks of the Rhine. Twenty of the towers at Aventicum were still standing in the last century, but at the present time one only remains, and that evidently almost entirely a restoration. But it is interesting as preserving the shape of the original. Some conception of it may be formed by examining the ground plan and sketch of its elevation with the picturesque bits of the old wall adjoining it on both sides. The old wall can be traced in almost its entire circuit, and some very lengthened and striking portions of it remain (one being close to the railway station), though in a ruined condition. The outside cut stones have nearly all disappeared, leaving only the concrete core intact.

Both the wall and its towers have been utilised as a stone quarry for the erection of farm-houses and châteaux for many miles around; the part near the village of Donatyre having, all except its foundations, disappeared in this way. It is not known how many gates were originally in this wall, but portions of five have been found. They were guarded by two round towers, one on each side, which were connected above the gateway by means of a gallery.

Only one-twentieth part of the large and very undulating space enclosed by these walls of defence is occupied by the modern town, the remaining portion consisting of cultivated land. At its lowest portion it is 1320 feet above the sea-level, 1500 feet at Avenches, 1400 at the Forum, and 1600 at Donatyre. No systematic excavations were made there till two years ago, and then only on a small scale. But the discoveries then made, as well as others in the course

of previous incidental excavations in past times, suffice to convince us that many treasures lie still buried in the soil. The site is admirably adapted for excavating, on account of the complete absence of any modern buildings over a considerable extent of its surface. When the small proprietors who own the land now dig only a short distance below the surface, they invariably, as I have myself seen, meet with foundations of buildings, remnants of hypocausts, fragments of pottery, of which I collected some specimens, and not infrequently objects of value.

But I will now refer to some few of the more important remains and discoveries already made, a few of which are *in situ*, and others are collected in the museum, forming altogether a very interesting and important series of objects well worthy the attention of the Archæologist.

The first object that cannot fail to strike a visitor to Avenches is a columnar-looking structure in the middle of a grass field just below the present town, and on the site of what has been identified the ancient Forum. This structure is 40 feet high, and consists of 15 blocks of white Jura marble, built up without any cement, each stone being most evenly cut; the blocks are very massive, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and run right through the structure. The summit is crowned with the remnants of a Corinthian capital, and about ten feet from the ground there are clear indications of the spring of an arch, facing north, and just below it the commencement of an ornamental cornice. Much discussion has arisen as to the nature of this structure. It has been thought to have been a portion of a triumphal arch, the facade of a temple dedicated to Bacchus or Apollo, and other theories have been put forward; but the most credible opinion seems to be that held by Bursian and Hagen, who consider that it belonged to a kind of open portico, forming an arcade along that side of the Forum.

Not far from the column lies a huge mass of an entablature of white Jura marble, displaying a rich Corinthian frieze, on which is sculptured two winged griffins facing each other, each with a fore-paw on a beautiful two-handled amphora standing between them, while their tails encircle candelabra, the same combination of griffins, amphora and candelabra being variously repeated. This fragment is 10 feet long, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and 4 feet deep. At a little distance from this was found a Corinthian capital of elaborate design, bearing on its plinth one word of an incomplete inscription in gilt bronze letters, "Lugones." This word Lugones is found in an inscription in the town of Osema in Old Castille, as the name of

a protective divinity of a confraternity of shoemakers,⁵ and it is probable that the monument of which this fragment formed a part was dedicated to this tutelar god.

Passing hence across the 250 paces occupied by the space (now a green meadow) identified as the site of the Forum, there are seen facing us two crumbling masses of ruined walls about 80 feet apart. These have been recognised as the extremities of the two wings of the substructure, which supported the tiers of seats of the fan-shaped auditorium of the theatre. On examination these remains are found to consist of radiating walls, 6 or 7 of which remain on the south extremity, and 2 or 3 on the north, the intervening portion being a huge turfed mound surmounted by patches of brushwood. Sufficient foundations have been found to justify the construction of a ground plan. Some inscriptions have been found amid the ruins of the theatre, in one of which the letters were eight inches high, also a quantity of personal ornaments, needles, buttons, brooches, &c., and so distributed as to lead to the conclusion that the spectators, to whom they belonged, must have fled from the theatre suddenly, as if in a panic.

Not far from this have been discovered the remains of four large edifices, designated by the inscription upon them as "Schola," a word which sometimes signified in Imperial Rome a place of reunion of confraternities or corporations. One built of snow-white marble, a column of which is preserved, was erected in honour of C. Valerius Camillus. Another was in honour of Q. Cluvius Macer. These persons belonged to two of the most influential and distinguished Helvetian families at the end of the last century B.C. Their connection with Aventicum is identified by inscriptions found there, of which no less than nine bear the name of the family of Camillus. Of the latter "schola," some very beautiful massive marble friezes have been found, as well as the site of the building itself, which had a double row of fluted marble columns, and was ornamented with statues, its facade being 106 feet long.⁶

A third "schola" was an academy founded, as recorded in an inscription, by two Greeks named Hygenus and Hermes, and is curiously enough dedicated to the Emperor Augustus in combination with Minerva and Apollo.⁷ In connection with the same building

⁵ Tetscherin *Die Schlitz von Aventicum*.

⁶ According to Appian the historian, it was in the house in Helvetia of the head of this same family of Camillus just named, and where he had fled for protection, that Decimus Brutus, one of the murderers of Julius Caesar, was given up and decapitated.

⁷ Bonstetten, p. 6.

there appears to have been a College of Physicians, as shown by the same inscriptions on a slab now built into the church wall, facing the central street of the town of Avenches. We may conclude from the existence of this academy that the inhabitants cultivated the intellectual as well as the beautiful. In the fourth "schola," situated at a short distance from the former, was found the fine inscription of the *Nautæ Aramici*, 10 feet long and 2 feet broad, referring to the existence of a corporation of boatmen, and to the house erected for them, at their cost, in honour of the Imperial family, which granted the site by a decree of the Senate. Besides being architecturally important, this erection is of great interest on account of the knowledge it affords us of the existence of this club house for sailors. It is known that there was formerly a canal, still traceable, between the lake of Morat and the town, about one mile apart. By this means communication was maintained between the three contiguous lakes of Morat, Neuchâtel, and Bienne, and the traffic, especially in building materials, must have been both large and profitable, when it is considered how extensive were the constructions of the city, including its vast wall with its towers, its mansions, and public edifices. The building stone has been proved by Professors Agassiz and Desor to be of precisely the same character as is found in the Jurassic limestone quarries of Concise and Hauterive, on the shores of the lake Neuchâtel, and the visitor to Avenches can observe that some of the large pieces of chiselled stone lying about near the theatre are full of the fossils peculiar to that geological formation. I found a small polished slab of this marble, as it is called, on a heap of macadamising stones by the road-side, close to the theatre, in which may be clearly seen the fossils of the shells of the genus *Natica*, such as belong to these Jurassic rocks. As might be anticipated in regard to a Roman city, remains have been found in several places of baths, and a few also of aqueducts; and judging from what I saw of an excavation, in search of building stones, going on in a field near the railway station, the drainage system must have been very elaborate. The conduits were hollowed out in a series of large slabs of chiselled Jurassic limestone, which were made so as to fit with the greatest accuracy.

The mosaics found at Avenches are both numerous and beautiful, connoisseurs considering them equal to the finest specimens of this kind of Roman decoration, not excepting the celebrated one of the victory of Alexander in the Naples Museum. The designs represent the usual scenes of Orpheus playing on his lyre surrounded by wild animals; Theseus killing the Minotaur; Dionysius and

Ariadne, and so on. One of the mosaic pavements bears the name of the Greek artist Prosthadius; and another evidence of the employment of Greek artificers at Aventicum is an inscription recording the Greek name of Polynices, who was a worker in gold and silver, who attained all the honours of the corporation of carpenters to which he belonged.⁸

At the entrance of the modern town is an enclosed space, containing amongst other things the site of the amphitheatre and an uncouth looking tower-like building, formerly a granary, but now adapted to the purposes of an archæological museum. A deep oval hollow, now covered with rich verdure, with here and there a fruit tree, still preserves the outline of the amphitheatre. On the outskirts of this space stand some ruined lofty walls, forming a portion of the exterior of the amphitheatre, which must once have been a stately building. A few tiers of the large slabs which served as seats also remain *in situ*, likewise one of the vaulted arcades on a level with the arena. It is estimated that ten thousand spectators could have been accommodated in this building.

On a platform close to the entrance of the Museum, and commanding a fine view of the Lake and Jura mountains, are collected together the massive elaborately sculptured pieces of entablature already referred to, several marble columns, stone-sarcophagi, amphoræ, &c.

The Museum contains a very interesting collection of more than 2,000 objects, besides 700 coins, nearly all of which have been found within the walls of Aventicum. Some of them are labelled, but no catalogue printed or written is obtainable, and I am bound to add that I have never visited a town where I had greater difficulty in gaining personal information as to the antiquities or received less encouragement to investigate them; and, as I said before, the literature on the subject is scattered here and there in the form of pamphlets and magazine articles, in French or more especially in German. One small case in the Museum contains objects from the pile-dwellings of the adjoining lake, and there is the usual collection of toilet articles, utensils, bronze and marble statues, bricks bearing stamps, one being that of the 21st Legion, which was of such ill omen in the local history; there are also a fragment of a griffin's wing in gilt bronze, 12 pounds in weight, and a large relief in stone of the wolf and twins, besides mosaics, pottery, vases, and other things too numerous to mention.

⁸ Mommsen, *Insc.* 212.

There is one object there, however, to which I am tempted to refer at greater length. It is called a votive hand, and was found in a drain within the walls of Aventicum in January, 1845. It is the only specimen of the kind in Switzerland, and only 14 votive hands are known to exist; this one surpasses them all in the richness and variety of its ornamentation. A German writer, Herr Meyer, in his description of it, remarks that at the very first sight it has an appearance of mystery, seeming connected with some form of religious worship—three fingers are seen to be raised as if in the act of taking an oath, and its whole surface is adorned by images of gods and animals. It is an *ex voto*, dedicated to a temple by a mother on behalf of her newly born child. The elevation of the thumb and first two fingers was used in the religious ceremonies of Pagan Rome, and subsequently adopted by Christians. It is here intended to signify that the mother desires to commend her child at once to the protection and providence of the gods. This votive hand, like all the others discovered, is dedicated to Phrygian or Egyptian deities. It is indeed as charming as it is graceful. Its delicate elegance and the softness and beauty of contour of the fingers and their joints render it an accurate representation of a woman's hand, an object which painters as well as sculptors and modellers find so difficult to represent, as may be so often seen in the stiff or swollen restorations of ancient statues. It is a right hand, as used in making a vow, and it rests on a circular pedestal about 4 inches high: on the tip of the thumb is modelled a fir-cone; on the digital joints of the 2 fingers not raised is a youthful head with the wings of Mercury, and at the side of the hand below it is the head of a ram. At the base of the index and middle fingers is a small half length figure of Bacchus, his forehead crowned with vine-branches and grapes, while his arm is gracefully curved over his head, the lower part of the chest and shoulders being clothed in a chlamys (scarf). On the palmar surface of the same two fingers, projects the bust of an aged god, bearded, and wearing a Phrygian cap; it is that of the god Sabazius, according to Prof. Gerhard. Below the chest of the god is what looks like a small package divided into four parts by the string which encircles it; a similar unrecognisable object is often seen on ancient vases; it strongly resembles a cake of oblation. On the dorsal face of the hand, approaching the head of the ram is a frog, and below it a climbing tortoise, by the side of which is a two handled cup, and obliquely below it a lizard also climbing. On the joint of the thumb is a clothed bust of Cybele, as indicated by her walled

crown, with a tympanum on one side of her head, which is a customary attribute of that goddess. The lower part of the hand near the wrist is twice encircled by a serpent, in such a manner that the head of the reptile arrives just at the middle of the palm of the hand; below the head of the serpent is a little bell. The ulnar side of the hand is ornamented by a branch of oak, whereon acorns and leaves are easily distinguishable. Below the serpent on the dorsal part of the hand are placed the figures of the mother and her infant. These terminate the series of objects, the number and variety of which render this unique specimen so remarkable.

The serpent here represents the life which never ends; and is also a symbol of medical virtues, or of gods who were supposed to be the sources of healing.

Mingled with the divinities of Rome, we find on this bronze those of Asiatic and Phrygian origin, such as Cybele and Sabazius, who were often worshipped in common and their favours sought by means of coarse mysteries and turbulent feasts. Cybele was considered to be the creatress of the world and the author of the blessings which it brought forth; and Sabazius the god of the sun, whose rays of light vivified everything. Their worship among the Romans shews the influence which the oriental cult gradually exercised over that people, proving even more attractive than that of Bacchus and Mercury, both of whom are also represented here. There are, in fact, four divinities whose combined influence would be considered to extend the largest amount of protection over the child. A similar custom is observed now in giving a child the names of different saints as patron-protectors. Cybele has here as her attributes the bell, the pine-cone and branch of oak, while Sabazius is known by his Phrygian cap, strong beard and serious countenance. A votive hand in the Museum at Naples is dedicated to him, on which his figure is represented in a sitting posture. Bacchus has the attributes of a crown of vine leaves and the Cantharus, while the head of a ram betokens Mercury, as protector of flocks. The lizard, frog and turtle are such as are often represented on amulets for the protection of children from infirmity and disease. A serpent on an amulet was considered to act as a talisman against the evil eye, and is often seen thus depicted on the pillars of shop entrances at Pompeii. The superior workmanship of this bronze entitles it to be considered a production of the first century, a date corroborated by the fact that Aventicum at that period was an opulent and cultured city.

The different writers whose works I have consulted in reference

to Aventicum are unanimous in regretting that some systematic and efficiently supervised excavations had not been made on so eligible and interesting a site. At last, in September 1885, an "Association Pro Aventico," as it is called, was founded at Freiburg, under the auspices of the Historical Society of Roman Switzerland. In December of the same year the association commenced excavating, and continued their operations the following winter when, although they were on but a small scale, some interesting discoveries were made. The work was begun on the site of a tomb which had been discovered a few years previously, its contents being the bones of a young girl, some children's playthings and two glass vases; and they have brought to light a series of other tombs along the sides of the old Roman road outside the gate which leads to Payernes, in addition to which were objects of personal adornment, coins of Domitian, and Hadrian and several lamps, on one of which was impressed the word "Fortis." But what excited considerably the surprise and interest of Aventican Archæologists in connection with these more recent discoveries was the possibility that Pagan and Christian tombs could be mingled in the same necropolis! For the young girl whose tomb has just been referred to is considered to have been a Christian, on account of the words "Vivas in Deo" being seen on the rim of one of the two glass vases found there. Much discussion has been indulged in by Swiss Archæologists with reference to two points, namely, if the words "Vivas in Deo" on the vase are sufficient to entitle the occupant of the tomb in which it was found to be called a Christian, and secondly, if the tombs of Pagans and Christians are ever found mingled in the same necropolis, the writers just referred to assuming that such latter occurrence is incredible.

E. J. MILES, M.D.

AGRICULTURAL DIALECT WORDS.

NO. 2.—DURHAM.

THIS glossary is compiled from J. Bailey's *Agriculture of Durham*, 1810, pp. 370-379, 410-412. The only published Durham Dialect word-list is F. T. Dimsdale's *Glossary of Provincial*

Words used in *Teesdale*, 1849, and with this the Bailey list has been compared where the two glossaries contain the same word. It has also been compared with Britten's *Old Country and Farming Words gleaned from Agricultural Books*, 1880. Professor W. W. Skeat, who has kindly looked through this list, says "the words are nearly all known to readers of dialect," but the spellings are different. "Thus this writer uses *u* for *oo*, whereas *u* in English is commonly *eu* as in *pure*, *endure*, and distinct from *poor*." All editorial notes are placed between square brackets. Where the county is named in Mr. Britten's agricultural word-lists, it has been noted here. From these editorial notes may be ascertained the additions to the printed Durham dialect words.

ADLINGS, earnings [*Teesdale Glossary*; see Britten, "Addle," Yorks].

AMEL, between.

ARDER, fallow quarter [Britten].

ARLES or EARLES, earnest money [Britten, Scotland].

ARNUT, earth nut.

BAIN, ready, near [*Teesdale Glossary*].

BATTS, islands in rivers, or flat grounds adjoining them.

BECK, a brook or rivulet [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].

BERRIER, a thresher.

BIGG, four-rowed barley.

BINK, a seat of stones, wood, or sods, made mostly against the front of a house [*Teesdale Glossary*].

BLASH, to plash [to throw water or dirt, *Teesdale Glossary*].

BLEB, a drop [of water, also a blister or rising of the skin, *Teesdale Glossary*].

BRAUGHAM, a collar which goes round a horse's neck to draw by. [See Britten, "bragham" (braffam), Devonshire; "barfin," Yorks; "barfame," Durham, from A.S. *beorgan* to protect, and *hame*.]

BRAKE, a large harrow.

BRENT, steep [*Teesdale Glossary*].

BRISSEL, to scorch or dry very hard with fire.

BUMBLE-KITES, bramble berries (fruit of *Rubus fruticosus*). [*Teesdale Glossary* gives "Bummel-kite"].

BURN, a rivulet.

BUTE or BOOT, money given in bartering horses, etc., to equalize the value.

BUSE, a stall; as cow-buse, hay-buse [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, "boose"].

BUSTE, a mark set upon sheep with tar, etc.

BYER, a cow-house [Britten, "byre."]

CAM or COMB, remains of an earthen mound [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Yorks, a bank].

CARR, flat marshy ground [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Yorks., lowlands].

CHISEL, bran [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. Chizzle].

CHOUPS, heps, the fruit of briars.

CLAG, to adhere or stick together [*Teesdale Glossary*].

COPE, to barter or exchange [*Teesdale Glossary*].

COPE or COUP, to empty or turn out [Britten, Scotland].

COUL, to scrape earth together [*Teesdale Glossary*].

COW-WA, come away.

CRINE, to shrink, pine.

CRYING, weeping.

DAFT, foolish, stupid, insane [*Teesdale Glossary*].

DARKING, listening obscurely or unseen [*Teesdale Glossary*].

DENE, a dell or deep valley [*Teesdale Glossary*].

DIGHT, to dress, to clean.

- DOFF, to undress [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 DON, to dress [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 DOWP, a carrion crow.
 DRAP, brewers' grains [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 DRAWK, to saturate with water.
 DREEROOD, a long and weary road.
 DUB, a pool.
 EAR or a niere, a kidney [*Teesdale Glossary*. M.E. *niere*; the *n* is radical.—W.W.S.].
 EARLES, see "arles."
 ELSIN, an awl [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 ENNANTERS, in case of.
 FELL, a moor or common [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 FETTLIE, to make ready [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 FLACKER, to flutter or quiver [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. Flecker].
 FLAID, frightened [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 FLIT, to remove from one dwelling to another.
 FOG, aftermath [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
 FOND, silly, foolish [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 FORSE, a cascade.
 FROATING, anxious unremitting industry.
 FUSIN, nourishment [*u* as in *ruby*; Shakespeare's *foison*, *Tempest* II. i. 63—W.W.S.; Britten, "foison, fuzzen, or fuzen."].
 GAITING, a sheaf of corn set up on end to dry [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Nhumb.].
 GAIT for cattle, the going or pasturage of an ox or cow through the summer [Britten, Yorks.].
 GAIT or GATE, a path, a way, a street [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GAR, to oblige to do anything.
 GARSIL, hedging wood.
 GAVELOCK, an iron lever. [Britten, "gablock," Nhumb, Norfolk, and Suffolk].
 GEAR, stock, property, wealth [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GEARS, horse trappings [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GEE or REE, go off or turn to the right, used by carters to draft horses [*Teesdale Glossary*. Britten under "horses" gives all the terms used in directing, but he does not include "ree"].
 GILL, a small valley or dell [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GIMMER, an ewe sheep from the first to the second shearing [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Durham].
 GLAIR, mirey puddle.
 GLIF, a glance, a fright [*Teesdale Glossary*, a transient view].
 GLORE, to stare [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GOB, the mouth [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 GOPING, as much as both hands can hold, when joined together.
 GOUK, a cuckoo.
 GRAIN of a tree, a branch [*Teesdale Glossary*; Icel. *grein*, branch, arm, fork.—W.W.S.].
 GRAPE, a three-pronged fork for filling rough dung [Britten, "graip," Scotland].
 GREETING, weeping.
 GROATS, shelled oats [Britten].
 GROSEBS, gooseberries.
 HARD CORN, wheat and maalin [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 HAVER, oats [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
 HAVEEMEAL, oat-meal [*Teesdale Glossary*]; hence the haversack of soldiers which was formerly used for carrying their oatmeal.
 HAMES, H'YAWMS, the two pieces of crooked wood, which go round a horse's neck to draw by. This is pronounced "yawms" with the aspirate H before it. A in this and many other provincial words is sounded like "yaw"; as yal, ale, and where so sounded is marked A.
 HAUGHS, HOLMS, flat grounds by the sides of rivers.
 HECK or TROP, come here or turn to the left, used by carters to draft horses [neither of these words is given by Britten in his terms used in directing horses, s.v. "horses."].

HEFT, a haunt.

HELL or **HAIL**, to pour [*Teesdale Glossary*].

HEMMEL, a shed for cattle [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, "hemel," a small yard for cattle.]

HINDERPRIES, raspberries [*Rubus Idæus*].

HIPE, to rip or gore with the horns of cattle [*Teesdale Glossary*].

HOGG, a young sheep before it be shorn [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].

HOPPLE, to tie the legs together [*Teesdale Glossary*].

HOWE, to make a hole or cut earth with a spade.

HOWL, hollow [*Teesdale Glossary*].

HUMBLING BARLEY, breaking off the awns, with a flail or other instrument.

HUSE, a short cough [*Teesdale Glossary*, hūsy].

INGS, low wet grounds [Britten].

INKLING, an intimation [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KAVE, to separate the short straw from corn with a rake and the foot.

KEMPING, to strive against each other in reaping corn [Britten, Scotland].

KEMPS, hairs amongst wool.

KEN, to know [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KENSPECKLED, particularly marked, so as to be easily known [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KESLOP, a calf's stomach salted and dried to make rennet [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KEVEL, a large hammer for quarrying stones [*Teesdale Glossary*].

KITE, the belly.

KITTLE, to tickle [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LAKE, to play [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LATE OF LAIT, to seek [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LEMURS, ripe nuts that separate easily from the husk [also spelt leamers or leemera.—W.W.S.].

LEAM, a flame.

LEIF, rather.

LEICH, a swang or marshy gutter.

LIB, to castrate [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LICK, to beat, to chastise [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LIG, to lie [cf. Britten, ligs, ley, Yorks].

LING, heath (*erica vulgaris*) [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LINGEY, active, strong, and able to bear great fatigue.

LINN, a cascade.

LOACH, a leach.

LOOKING CORN, weeding corn [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LOP, a flea [*Teesdale Glossary*].

LOR-LOACH, the leach used by surgeons to draw blood. Some of Shakespeare's commentators have been much puzzled to explain the carrier's expression (in *Hen. V.*) that "your chamberlie breeds fleas like a loach." A North country reader understands it to mean, that the fleas bite as keen, or suck blood like a leach, loach, or lop-loach.

LOWE, a flame.

LYERY, abounding with lean flesh especially on the buttocks [Britten; from A.S. *lira*, flesh, muscle.—W.W.S.].

MANG, barley or oats ground with the husk, for dogs and swine meat [*Teesdale Glossary*].

MAUGH, a brother-in-law.

MAUMY, mellow and juiceless [*Teesdale Glossary*].

MEAL OF MILK, as much as a cow gives at one milking [*Teesdale Glossary*].

MEL-SUPPER, a supper and dance given at harvest home [*Teesdale Glossary*].

MIS-TETCH, bad habits [*Teesdale Glossary*].

MOUDY-WARP, a mole [*Teesdale Glossary*].

NEIVE, the fist [*Teesdale Glossary*].

NEIVEL, to strike or beat with the fist.

NOLT or **NOULT**, neat cattle [*Teesdale Glossary*. The form *nolt* is very doubtful.—W.W.S.].

PIGGIN, a wooden cylindrical porringer, made with staves, and bound with hoops

- like a pail ; holds about a pint [Britten, a payl with one handle standing upright].
- PLENISHING, household furniture.
- PROD, a prick [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- PUBBLE, plump, full ; usually said of corn or grain when well perfected.
- QUICKENS or QUICKEN GRASS, a general name for all creeping or stoloniferous grasses or plants, which give the farmer so much trouble to eradicate.
- RATED, approaching to rottenness.
- REE, see "Gee."
- REINS, balks of grass land in arable fields. [Seebohm's *Village Community*. 381-382.]
- RICE, hedging wood [Britten, the shrouds or tops of trees or fellings of coppices].
- RIFE, ready, quick to learn [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- RIFT, to belch, also to plow out grass land [*Teesdale Glossary*, with first meaning only].
- ROWTING, bellowing of an ox [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- RUNCH, a general name for wild mustard, white mustard, and wild radish.
- RUNG, a round of a ladder [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SAMCAST, two ridges ploughed together [*Teesdale Glossary* ; sam means together : cognate with Gk. *σάω*.—W. W. S.].
- SARE, much, greatly : as sare hurt, sare pained [sare or sair is the Northern form of sore.—W. W. S.].
- SCALING, spreading mole hills or dung [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SCALLIONS, young onions [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SEIVES or SPAETS, articulated rush.
- SHEER, to reap or cut [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SHIVE, a slice of bread [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SILLS, strata of minerals [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SIPINGS, the draining of a vessel after any fluid has been poured out of it.
- SKEEL, a cylindrical milking pail with a handle made by one of the staves being a little longer than the rest [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SKELP, to slap, to strike with the open hand [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SKIRL, a loud and continued scream or shriek.
- SKUGG, to hide.
- SLAPE, slippery [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SLOCKEN, to quench thirst [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SMASH, to crush.
- SNELL, sharp, keen : as snell air.
- SOSS, to lap like a dog [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SPÂIT OF RAIN, a great fall of rain.
- SPÂINED, weaned [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SPAETS, see "seives."
- SPURLING, rut made by a cart wheel [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STARK, stiff, tight, thoroughly.
- STEE, a ladder [*Teesdale Glossary* ; Britten, Yorks.].
- STEEK THE HECK, shut the door [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STEER, a three-year-old ox [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STEG, a gander [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STELL, a large open drain.
- STINT, in stocking grass land is equal to an ox or cow's grass [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STIRK, a yearling ox or heifer [*Teesdale Glossary* ; Britten, young cattle.].
- STORKIN or STORKEN, to grow stiff : as melted fat cooled again.
- STOT, a two-year-old ox [*Teesdale Glossary* ; Britten].
- STOUR, dust [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- STRIPPINGS, the last part of a cow's meal said to be richer than the rest [*Teesdale Glossary*].
- SWAMHISH, shy, bashful.
- SWARTH, sward, the surface of grass land.
- SWATHE, a row of mown grass as left by the scythe [Britten].
- SYDE, hanging low down [*Teesdale Glossary*, meaning long].
- SYKE, a small brook.
- SYLES, principal rafters of a house.
- TAWM, a fishing line made of hair [*Teesdale Glossary*].

- TEAM, to empty a cart by turning it up, to pour out.
 TEWING, teasing, disordering, harassing [*Teesdale Glossary*, tew, to fatigue].
 THREAVE, twenty-four sheaves of corn, etc. [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
 THUD, a heavy stroke [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 TITE, as tite, as soon [i.e., tite occurs in the phrase "as tite," i.e., as soon].
 TITTER, rather, sooner.
 TROD, a beaten footpath [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 TROP, see "heck."
 TWEA, two [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 TWIBLING, slender, weak [*Teesdale Glossary*, twible, to walk unsteadily].
- UNLETES, displacers or destroyers of the farmers' produce.
- WANKLE, uncertain [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 WARE-CORN, barley or oats.
 WATTLES, teat-like excrescences which hang from the cheeks of some swine [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 WHANG, a leather thong [*Teesdale Glossary*, giving meaning of "a large piece as of bread and cheese." I suspect these two whangs are totally different words.—W.W.S.].
 WHIO, soured whey with aromatic herbs in it, used by labouring people as a cooling beverage [Britten].
 WHYFE, or QUEY, a heifer [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten, Yorks.].
 WIN, to get; as winning stones, to get stones in a quarry [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 WIZENED, dried, shrivelled, shrunk [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 WO, stop or stand still, used by carters to draft horses [*Teesdale Glossary*; Britten].
- Yaits (aits) oats, hence probably gaitings [?] from yaitings, single sheaves of oats.
 YAK (ayk), oak.
 YAL, ale [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 YAMMER, to cry like a dog in pain.
 YAN (ane), one.
 YANCE (ance), once.
 YAP, ape.
 YARNUT, arnut, earthenut.
 YAT, gate [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 YAUDE, a horse [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 YEDDERS, slender rods that go along the top of a fence and bind the stakes together [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. yether. The Southern English ether, A.S. *edor*.—W.W.S.].
 YERD, a fox earth.
 YERNING, rennet [*Teesdale Glossary*, s.v. yernin].
 YOUL, to howl like a dog [*Teesdale Glossary*].
 YUKE, to itch.

CORRESPONDENCE.

DERIVATION OF PLACE-NAMES.

FROM a book which Professor Skeat speaks of as the most worthless book of its class that he is acquainted with, but I, with more respect, describe as the most imaginative book on place-names I have seen—viz., Edmunds' *Traces of History in Names of Places*—I learn from "the half-Norse, Nunthorp, that there were nunneries in pre-Norman times, and that they held estates." I had previously supposed that the rather migratory body of nuns, who settled here for a few years before they shifted their quarters to Baysdale about the year 1260, or later, had then given the prefix Nun to the name which, in the Domesday pages, stands simply

Torp. But, of course, I defer to Mr. Edmunds' superior "imagination." In like manner, I learn from the same authority that the word "combe"—which is always by natives of the district pronounced *coom*—is not found anywhere in the Anglian or Norse districts, which have other British words marking the places retained by the "Indigenes." This, too,—I do not mean the obscurity about the retention indicated—has perplexed me a little. I had imagined that the North-Riding moorlands, Ryedale, Rose-dale, Danbydale, were all in "the Anglian or Norse districts," and that place-names always, by natives of the district, pronounced *cooms*, might have something to do with *combe*. *Pace* Mr. Edmunds, it is even so. I am acquainted with from fifteen to twenty local names within the area roughly indicated above, or within the Furness Abbey district, all of which involve the element *coom*, *combe*, or *coomb*. Some of these names are of great written antiquity—as Ravenecumbe, in a document printed in the Whitby Chartulary belonging to about the year 1200; and others of them are in constant use to this day. Such is the case with two separate places in this parish, and in one of them the combe-making process is—to the eye of the observer—in still continued operation. There is, within a linear half-mile of this house, a place called "the Cooms" by the "natives," within the area of which I have, during the last decade, seen subsidences, involving many hundreds of tons of earth, evidently proceeding. A tithe of the "imagination" involved in Mr. Edmunds' book will enable anyone to conceive a moorland ridge of half a mile or upwards in width, coming to an end abruptly on reaching the valley of the small river running at right angles to the general direction of the ridge in question. These ridges, thus abruptly out across, and of which there is no lack in the entire district, are usually called "nabs" or "nab-ends," and they present to the eye a sufficiently steep slope, with more or less of a talus at the foot, perhaps a hundred or a hundred and fifty feet below the end or "brae" of the ridge. Calling on our imagination still further, we have to conceive the half of a basin scooped out in this half-mile-wide nab-end, the diameter of the basin being about two thirds of the whole width, and the total depth of it, where the original face-line of the cliff may be assumed to have run originally, scarcely less than a hundred and twenty feet. This half-basin is "the Cooms," the name extending, in its application, some little way into the valley. In the course of my careful and exact watching of the changes going on within the area of our half-basin during the last seven or eight years, I have seen enough to assure me that the processes in operation for the creation of this combe, demand a series of ages, rather than of centuries, only; and the grave-hills I have opened on the moors around are, as it may be said, babies in years in comparison with our Cooms (or Coums, as more usually spelt here). What language the pilers of those burial mounds spoke, there is none to say; but there can be no doubt that the abiding name under notice is a survival from the tongue of some former "natives of the district."

The mischief done by the writers of such books as this *Names of Places* is a real mischief, and from its nature not easily remedied. For it is the application of ignorant but more or less plausible guessing to the *tabula rasa* of ignorant but receptive minds; and, the impression once produced, the representations of historical investigation and sober sense have no scope for influence, and are summarily rejected. And yet, one would think that

some of the incoherent ramblings of the unscientific deriver of place-names were too nonsensical and inconsistent to obtain a moderately thoughtful person's regard. To take but one illustration from that curious medley of unsifted statements, professing to be "historical," and really authentic recital, called *Old Yorkshire*, take the account that is given of Golcar:—"Anciently Gudlagesarc, i.e., Guthlac's Scar. Gol, a corruption of Guthlao, an O.E. or D. personal name. Car, an abbreviation of scar, D. a steep precipitous rock, derived from skéra, to cut." The most trivial amount of investigation would have sufficed to show the compiler that the suffix *arc* belonged to a group of forms, all apparently variations of one and the same stem-word; and the most embryonic amount of knowledge of the laws of philology would have averted the preposterous identification of *scar* with *car*, and *car* with *arc*; to say nothing of the almost equally astounding "corruption" of *Guthlac* into *Gol*! Of course, when one plays tricks of legerdemain with words after this fashion, anything becomes possible to the operator, and Boston admits of easy resolution into Celtic *bo*, an ox, and Teutonic *ton*—a derivation gravely propounded and printed some years ago by a Liverpool luminary in the derivation line; Aislaby (Hesselby in the "pronunciation of the natives of the district") into Hazel village; Danby, Ingleby, and Picton into the villages or towns of the Danes, the English, and the Picts!¹

But the case of Golcar is perhaps one of the most startling, and, at the same time, one of the least justifiable of the vagaries of the imaginative deriver of place-names. The suffix is found in the forms *arg*, *arc*, *argo*, *erch*, *ergh*, *arghe*, *arge*, &c., as well as *ergum*, *argum*, *hergum*, and the like; and not less than six or seven of these forms are met with in Domesday, while these last named forms in *um* are so slightly removed from their original, *hörgum*, that a scholar, only slightly conversant with the implements of his profession, might easily have made a reasonable conjecture as to the real origin of the entire group of such terminations. And truly there is some "History" in such a "Name of a Place:" for "the *horg* was an altar of stone erected on high places, or a sacrificial cairn built in open air, and without images; for the *horg* itself was to be stained with the blood of the sacrifices; and hence such phrases as to 'break' the horgs, but 'burn' the temples. The horg worship reminds one of the worship in high places of the Bible. . . The worship on horgs seems to be older than that in temples, but was in after times retained along with temple worship." (*Vigfusson's Icelandic-English Dictionary*). The references or quotations from Old Norse writings in which the hof, or temple, and the horg are placed in antithetical connection, are really most numerous, and with the Domesday triad, Ergone, Ergune, Ergun (now severally Arram, Erriholm, and Airyholm) to compare with such collocations as "hofum ok horgum," it seems strange that the true connection of *arc*, *argo*, *arge*, *ergum*, *hergum*, and so forth, should have escaped the observation of even such derivationists as Edmunds and the "Old Yorkshire" investigator. Possibly one of the most curious connections is found in the Cleveland Ergum, now Airyholm. That is the name of a farmstead at the foot of Roseberry Topping. The hill thus named is

¹ This is not imagination. A man, educated at Eton and Oxford, travelling along the Cleveland line, told me he had seen the most interesting ethnological memorials in the names of those stations he had passed—the three named in the text!

known to have been, from 1100 onwards for four centuries and more, called Odinberg, or by some variation of that name. By what course of transition, or whether in virtue of some survival of an all but obsolete reminiscence of an elder appellation, Othenberg or Othenbruch gave place to Roseberry, there is nothing whatever to show conclusively. But the old Horg has survived through all, indifferent alike to the indiscriminating phonology of the Norman scribe of 1186, and the more reckless processes of later or modern accommodation and corruption. There seems to be some "Trace of History" indeed in such a name so associated; and when it is collated with the Whitby Thingwala, with Klifslönd, Klifflönd, (the name of the district including either), or with the endless place-names in *by*, *throp*, *toft*, *thwaite*, *um*, and the like, the history is not hard to read. It needs not that we should resuscitate the wielders of those four Danish swords and the mighty Danish battle-axe dug up at Kildale to tell us that Cleveland (and with Cleveland more than one or two other districts of important area in North Yorkshire) were almost as Old Danish as Old Denmark itself in jurisprudence, religion and language: these place-names do that with a singular emphasis and a most striking forcefulness. Rightly read, that story of Styrkar the Staller fleeing from the disastrous field of Stamford-bridge—however mythical in some of its aspects the account of the battle may be held to be—declares to us the unmistakable fact that the language of the Yorkshire husbandman (*bondi*, *húsbondi*) of 1066 was an entirely intelligible dialect of his own tongue to the Northman of the period, even if we are justified in applying such a word as "dialect" at all in the case. And surely, Thingwal, Odinsberg, with its horg, Grimesarge (Grim's harg), Gudlagesargo or Gudlagesarc (Guthlac's harg), Stratesargum (Stræts harg), Gusandarghe (Gusinsharg), Feges argh (Vegsharg) speak quite as plainly as to the polity, civil and religious, of the Danish-speaking people.

Illustrations of the same sort are literally without number, and attended in no small proportion of instances with analogous misapprehensions and consequent blunders and corruptions. There are in this parish, besides the cardinal name, Danby, which the imaginative folks we are speaking of interpret by "the village of the Danes," (therein ignoring alike the meaning of the suffix and the identity of the prefix), Butterwick (disguised as Butterwits), Clitherbecks (one of the two becks implied being almost the most rollicking beck of my acquaintance), a natural Houe (*haugr*) of large size, and the like, Danby Head and Danby Botton. To be sure, we have Dalesend now instead of the Norse form *Dals-mynni* or Dales-mouth, but Dale-head as sounded by a true dalesman—another pure Norse word—as if still written as it was originally spoken; while Botton is yet as thoroughly old Danish as is *dalsbotn* itself. And yet the lawyer and the modern local topographer must needs convert it into "bottom," while Professor Phillips (who might have known better), transmogrifies it into Burton! Doubtless there is a sort of ingenuity in the change; but then it is a perverted ingenuity. It is true the "natives" sound word "wo'd," and bird "bo'd," and hurt "ho't;" but that is hardly a justification for reversing the process and transforming *botton* into *burton*. But this is what the professor has done in his *Rivers, Mountains, &c.*, and the same charge lies at the door of the nomenclators of the Ordnance Survey, who print Burton Cross for what was written Bothine in 1205, and Burton Howe for Botton Howe

in the close vicinity of Phillips' Burton Head. If only there were an Index Expurgatorius of such books as we have glanced at, and the compilers were "set" a hundred lines for every blundering guess they made, what a slackening there would be in the flow of production.

J. C. ATKINSON.

DANBY PARSONAGE.

INDEX NOTES.

13. ROMAN REMAINS IN SUSSEX.

(C. I. L vii., pp., 17-20.)

NOTE.—The chief abbreviations used are :

Dall. *Hist.* J. Dallaway's *Hist. of Chichester*, 1815.

Dall. *Chich.*—Dallaway's *Topography of the Rape of Chichester*, 1815.

Cartw. *Arundel, Bramber*—Dallaway's *Top. of the Rapes of Arundel and Bramber*, re-edited by E. Cartwright, 1830-2, 2 vols.

Horsfield—T. W. Horsfield's *Hist. of Sussex*, 1835, 2 vols.

Lower—M. A. Lower's *Hist. of Sussex*, 1870, 2 vols.

Dixon—Dixon's *Geology of Sussex*, ed. 2, 1878, (see *Arch. Journ.* viii., 12).

S. A. C.—Sussex Archaeological Collections, vols. i.-xxxv.

Coll. Ant.—C. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, 1843-80, 7 vols.

Chich. Tr.—*Transactions and Museum of the Arch. Institute*, Chichester, 1853.

(See S. A. C., viii., 284.)

Arch. Journ.—*Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, vols. i.-xliv.

Assoc. Journ.—*Journal of the British Arch. Association*, vols. i.-xlii.

Arch.—*Archæologia*, vols. i.-l.

G. M.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

O. S.—Ordnance Survey (six-inch and twenty-five-inch sheets).

The first nine publications I have searched myself ; for the rest I have been mainly dependent on published indices. Through the kindness of Sir Charles Wilson, I have been able to look at some of the Ordnance Survey "Namebooks" for Sussex. The antiquities marked on the Ordnance maps are taken, sometimes from local enquiries made by the surveyors, more often from published authorities, e.g., Horsfield. I do not suppose that my list is complete, but it is full enough for a beginning, and, I hope, omits very little of value. References in brackets denote passages borrowed from the work named immediately before, though I have not always been able to trace a statement to its fountain-head. I have purposely omitted many references, particularly those printed by Hubner. Those who use this list should remember that it is sometimes impossible to go behind the published accounts, that all manner of remains are apt to be thought "Roman," and that the occurrence of coins, &c., does not necessarily prove the presence of

Roman soldiers or settlers. I shall be grateful for any corrections or additions to my list.

F. HAVERFIELD, Lancing College, Shoreham.

- ALBOURNE (near Hurstpierpoint), coins, &c. S. A. C., xiv., 176.
- ALDRINGTON, urns, fibulae, &c. Horsfield i. 160 (a vague notice, probably belonging to Portslade brickfields).
- ALFRISTON, coins. Lower i., 6. (Possibly the coins are really British).
- ANGMERING, bath, urns, inscribed paterae, coin. Dall. *Arundel* i., 73 (Horsfield ii., 141).
- ARUNDEL. The alleged road and station do not exist, nor are there any Roman remains here (Tierney's *Arundel* (1834) 30-33, *Assoc. Journ.* xxxii., 488). The station *ad decimum lapidem* (S. A. C. ix. 112) rests only on the spurious Richard of Cirencester. The Arun is probably Ptolemy's *Trisanton* (*Arch.* xviii., 390).
- AVISFORD (near Walberton), stone coffin with glass, bones, sandals, lamps, paterae, &c. *G. M.* 1817, i., 464, Dall. *Arundel* 80 (Horsfield ii., 117), *Coll. Ant.* i., 123 Pl., Dixon, p. 91, S. A. C., xi., 130.
- BEAUFORT PARK (near Battle), ironworks, pottery (inscr. ALBVCIANI, cp. C. I. L. 1336-44), ligula, coins of Hadrian and Trajan. S. A. C. xxix, 169 Pl.
- BEDDINGHAM, coins of Antonines. Horsfield i., 340, *Lewes* i., 70. Lower i., 41 says "many remains."
- BREEDING (UPPER) HILL, tumulus with coin of Commodus, Samian ware (inscr. SABILIANI or -LINI) urns. Cartw. *Bramber*, 221, Horsfield i., 59, and *Lewes* i., 44 Pl. ["Sabiliani" may be an error for "Sabiniani," C. I. L. 1336-960].
- BIGNOR, large villa, figured mosaics, Samian ware, inscribed tiles, bricks, gold ring, &c. *Arch.* xviii., 203 Pl., xix., 176 Pl. (Dall. *Arundel*, 253 Pl.), *Lyson's Reliq. Brit. Rom.* iii., Pl. See also *G. M.*, 1811, ii., 515, 1812, ii. 487 (not 437), S. A. C. viii. 292, xviii., 99, xxx., 63 Pl., *Arch. Journ.* xxxvii., 154., *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 57 Pl. (Side-road, S. A. C., x., 169, xi., 132).
- BILLINGSHURST, pottery, tesserae, &c. S. A. C. xi., 145, Lower i., 52.
- BINDERTON, urn, tiles. S. A. C. xii., 65.
- BLATCHINGTON (EAST), urns under the church probably Roman. S. A. C. xiii., 309 (xv., 243, *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 45).
- BLATCHINGTON (WEST), foundations, flutiles, bricks, stucco, hand-mill, coins of Tetricus. *G. M.*, 1818, ii. 107 (Horsfield i., 157), S. A. C. xxvii., 70, O. S. 65-8.
- BOGNOR MILL, first brass of the elder Agrippina. Dixon, 71 Pl., *Wright Celt Roman and Saxon* (1861), p. 190, places a villa here.
- BORMER (near Falmer), cemetery, vases, glass, instrumenta, coins. S. A. C. xiv., 67, xviii., 65 Pl.
- BOSHAM, foundations and coins (near Broadbridge Ho and Swan Inn); tiles, bath, coins (near church—supposed basilica), alleged amphitheatre and walls. S. A. C. xviii., 1. (Lower i., 63), Monographs by Smith, Longcroft, O. S., 61, 5 and 9.
- BOTOLPH'S (down near), bricks, pottery. (?) Cartw. *Bramber*, 216 (Horsfield ii., 231).
- BRAMBER, supposed bridge, probably post-Roman; coin (in castle). S. A. C. ii., 73; xvi., 243. The localisation of Portus Adurni here or near Shoreham, is based only on the similarity of *Adurnus* and "Adur." The Adur is said (S. A. C. xxvii., 98) to have been originally called Alder (cf. *Domesday* "Eldretune"). See *Magna Britannia* (1730) 538, "The P. Adurni, we suppose, gives ground for the conjecture that the river is called Adur." The form "Adur" may be the invention of an antiquary.
- BRIGHTON (Furze Hill), coin of Constantius II. (found by C. G. Allum, Esq.). See also PRESTON, WHITEHAWKE, ROTTINGDEAN.
- BUNTON, tiles in church walls. Lower i., 88.
- CABURN, MOUNT, pre-Roman camp, a little pottery and oyster shells on surface. *Arch.* xlii., 38 Pl.; xlv., 424 Pl.; *Arch. Journ.* xli., 75.
- CAKEHAM, coins of 3rd and 4th cent. *Assoc. Journ.* ii., 109, 442 (*Chich. Tr.*, 66.)

CHANCOTONBURY, pre-Roman camp, Roman pottery and Samian ware, coins of Claudius and Nero, bricks. Evans' *Picture of Worthing* (1787) p. 65, *Arch.* xlii., 44 Pl., S. A. C. xxiv., 154, xxxiv., 220.

CHICHESTER (RĒGNUM or RĒONI—the exact name is doubtful), walls, inscriptions, pavements, pottery, instrumenta, coins 54-270 A.D. Besides the rest below, see for—i. Urns and pottery. *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 185 Pl.; S. A. C., x. 180; *Chich. Tr.*, 67. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 39; Wright's *Uriconium* 299 Pl.; ii. Inscribed pateræ. C. I. L., 1336 (501, 530, 823, 898); *Journ. Arch.*, xxxvii. 150; iii. Inscription (site unknown). *Arch.*, xli. 185 (comp. xliii. 288; *Chich. Tr.* 97); iv. Fig. of Priapus, *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 180; v. Mortarium, Brighton Mus. [The "caput statue" quoted by Hübner (p. 17) from *Arch.*, xxvi. 466, is there said to be mediæval.]

North Street (near, not under, Council Chamber), inscr. of Cogidubnus. C. I. L., 11; *Chich. Tr.*, 34. Mommsen *Staatsrecht*, ii. 792 n.

C. I. L. 10.

West Street, pavement. *Dall. Hist.*, 5; Horsfield, i. 42.

East Street. C. I. L. 12 (cp. *Eph. Epigr.*, 3, p. 114); *Daily Chich. Guide*, p. 5 (1831).

pavement at St. Andrew's Ch., pottery, &c., near. *Chich. Tr.*, 67; Lower, i. 102.

pottery kilns. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), vii. 292.

pavement. S. A. C., xxxii. 230.

waterpipes. O. S., 61-7.

Bishop's Palace, pavement, coins of Nero and Domitian. *Magna Britannia* (1730) 5, 489; *Dall. Hist.*, 5; Camden, i. 193.

inscription. *Arch. Journ.*, xliii. 286.

Cathedral, pavement. Horsfield, i. 42; S. A. C., xix. 198; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxv. 94.

St. Olave's Ch., bricks, urns. S. A. C., v. 223; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxiv. 215; *G. M.*, 1852, i. 164, 272; but the remains are not Roman. *Chich. Tr.*, 73.

St. Pancras, pottery. *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvii. 150.

Cattlemarket, ligula (inscr.). S. A. C., xxiv. 295.

Walls, Roman. *Assoc. Journ.*, xlii. 96, 120.

Eastgate, Roman (?) work, existing 1770. *Chich. Tr.*, 97.

inscription near (C. I. L., 14), and military column. *Dall. Hist.*, 5.

Southgate, inscr. C. I. L. 13-15.

pottery, coins, near. *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 158; *G. M.* 1836, ii. 418.

Palace Field (near Canal), pottery, hand-mills, glass, 700 silver coins. *G. M.*, 1830, ii. 228.

The Broil, earthwork, perhaps Roman; conduit pipes, &c. *Dall. Hist.*, 177; *Arch.*, xlii. 48; S. A. C., x. 169 Pl.; *Arch. Journ.*, xiv. 357.

[For the alleged amphitheatre, see *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxii. 489; Grayling well not Roman.]

CHIDDINGLY, ironworks, pottery, coin of Severus. S. A. C. ii., 175; xiv., 208.

CHILGROVE (near Chichester), skeletons, glass, rings, bronze, urns. *Arch.* xxxi., Pl., ix. (*Chich. Tr.*, 68), *Dall. Chich.*, 168 (Horsfield ii., 83).

CHITCOMB, ironworks, pottery, bricks. S. A. C. xxix., 175.

CISSBURY, pre-Roman camp with slight traces of Roman pottery and coins on surface, and at Leechpool in the valley near. Evans' *Worthing*, 65, Cartw. *Bramber*, 32, *Arch.* xlii., 47 Pl., xiv., 337, S. A. C. iii., 179. [The "station" alleged *Assoc. Journ.* xxxiv., 311, does not exist, nor does the "prætorium."]

CLAYTON (Rectory garden), figured mosaic, bath. (?) Horsfield i., 161, 239; *G. M.*, 1818, ii., 107. [Found about 1810 and reburied by the Rev. — Halliwell; since re-opened, but known to the present rector only by tradition.]

(near) quern; coins of Antonines Commodus, and pottery. S. A. C. ii., 76, xiv. 178; *G. M.*, 1781, 306; 1818, ii., 107; Horsfield *Leves* i. 70.

COCKING, stone quarried at. S. A. C. x., 175.

COLD WALTHAM (Watersfield hamlet), urn with 1700 brass of Gallienus &c. *Dall. Arundel* i., 289 (Horsfield ii., 152); S. A. C. xi., 137.

- CUCKFIELD (Highbridge Hill), urn, bones, and pateræ. S. A. C. iii. 142.
- DANNY, see Hurstpierpoint.
- DENSWORTH (near Funtington), stone and tiled coffins, inscribed pottery, glass, coins of Hadrian, sandals, pieces of illegible marble inscription. *G. M.*, 1858, i., 532; S. A. C. x., 169 Pl., xxxii., 197 (*Arch. Journ.* xv., 153, xvi., 101 Pl.), C. I. L., 17, 1276., O. S., 61, 1. [The entrenchments near, O. S. 48, 9, and 13, are hardly Roman.]
- DEVIL'S DYKE, pre-Roman camp. *Arch. xlii.*, 42. [Coins alleged, Lower ii., 108].
- DITCHLING, pre-Roman camp and road; coin of Tiberius. *Arch. xlii.*, 30, 40; Horsfield i., 237 (the coin should read TI. not T).
- DONINGTON, stone coffin with pottery, &c. *Dall. Chich.*, add 54.
- DUNCTON, bath, pavement, tiles, &c. *G. M.*, 1812, i., 381, 1816, ii., Pl. *Dall. Arundel*, 279 Pl. (Horsfield ii., 170).
- EARNLEY (Almodington), urn with 840 denarii, Caracalla to Gallienus, *G. M.*, 1836, ii. 418. S. A. C. xi., 127.
- EASTBOURNE (Seahouses), villa, bath, pavement, coins (265-300 A.D.). *Phil. Trans.*, 351 (*Eastbourne Guide* (1787) 133-145, *Dall. Hist.*, xxii., Horsfield i., 55); S. A. C. ii., 257, xiv., 126; *Assoc. Journ.* xxxv., 218.
- (The Wish), pottery. S. A. C. xvi., 308. [The alleged station S. A. C. ix., 156 is now given up; the piles mentioned in the *Guide* can hardly be Roman.]
- (cliffs near), hoard of 680 coins (253-275 A.D.) S. A. C. xxxi., 203 (*Num., Chron.*, 1881, 27.)
- ECKENFIELDS, coin of Victorinus. *Gordon's Harting* (1877) 20.
- EDBURTON (down S. of), urns. *Cartw. Bramber* 240 (Horsfield ii. 224).
- EWHURST (Sommersbury), glass. *Arch. Journ.* xxxii., 478.
- FINDON (Tormur Hill), urns. *Cartw. Bramber* ii., 95; Dixon, 91; (Lower i., 178; *Assoc. Journ.*, i., 149). Brighton Museum.
- FIRE HILL, pottery, coins of Domitian, Hadrian, &c. S. A. C. xx., 52; xxii., 76; Horsfield *Lewes* i., 48, 70.
- FISHBOURNE (NEW), bath, pavement, bricks, coins, urn. *G. M.*, 1806, ii. 936; Horsfield ii., 52. [More in two places, found 1863.]
- GLATING BEACON. The alleged Roman camp does not exist. S. A. C. xi., 128 n.
- GLYNDE, coins of later empire, ford. *Dall. Hist.* xxiii.; Horsfield *Lewes* i., 70, ii., 112; S. A. C. xiii., 55, xx. 52; *Arch. xlii.*, 35.
- HAMPNETT (WEST), bricks and tiles built into the church. S. A. C. xxi., 33 Pl. (*Assoc. Journ.* xxiv., 213 Pl.).
- HANGLETON, silver coins of Valerian, &c., in tumulus. S. A. C. ix., 124, xxxiv., 167.
- HARDHAM, camp, cemetery with ashes, pottery, fibulæ, coins of Hadrian, bricks, tiles in church walls. *Dall. Arundel*, 295 (Horsfield ii., 153); S. A. C. xi., 138 Pl., xv., 243, xvi., 52 Pl., xxxii., 179; *Coll. Ant.* vi., 252 Pl.
- HARTING BEACON, coin of 325 A.D., pottery. *Gordon's Harting*, p. 18.
- HASTINGS, camp, coin of Theodosius. S. A. C. ix. 366, xiii., 308, xiv., 64; *Assoc. Journ.* xxiii., 41, 181. In 11th cent. called Hastingschester.
- HOLLINGSBURY HILL, pre-Roman camp. *Arch. xlii.*, 39.
- HURSTPIERPOINT, churchyard and neighbourhood, clay ring (?), urns, coins, pateræ. S. A. C. xiv., 178; *Chich. Tr.* 73.
- Danny Park, tessellated pavement, foundations, pottery, bronze ornaments. S. A. C. x., 210, xiv., 178 Pl.
- IPING, urns under church. *Assoc. Journ.* xlii., 45. [Near this parish is a Cold Harbour Farm.]
- LANCING DOWN, tumulus with walls and flooring of small room (16 feet sq.) and painted stucco, ashes, bones, coins (Claudius to Gallienus). Also under the tumulus graves with fibulæ, celts, beads, dagger, urns, bones, comb, British coins, &c. *G. M.*, 1828, ii., 631, 1830, ii., 17 Pl. (*Cartw. Bramber*, 388 Pl.; Horsfield ii., 207); *Coll. Ant.* i., 93 Pl.; O. S., 64, 8; *Assoc. Journ.* i., 149. [The accounts disagree, i. as to site, ii. as to coins found. Possibly the sceattas¹ of *G. M.* are a mistake. The British coins,

¹ The plate contains four coins, one a sceatta, one British, two undistinguishable with certainty. Cartwright speaks of many sceattas.

- Evan's *Ancient British Coins*, pp. 110, 169, 183-5, were probably found here in the graves. The "Roman Ditch" marked in O.S. one-inch 1881 is now given up by Ordnance authorities.]
- LAVANT, coins, alleged earthwork. S. A. C. x. 169 Pl., xxii., 65.
- LEWES, urn with bones, coins, fibulae. Horsfield *Lewes* i., 67, 76. S. A. C. xxi., 91; *Assoc. Journ.* i., 230. There is no evidence of Roman occupation or town; the statements made, S. A. C. xii., 3, and Lower ii., 17, seem to be much exaggerated.
- (Combe place), urn. S. A. C. xxii., 194.
- LITTLEHAMPTON, bottle possibly Roman. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), v. 39.
- MARESFIELD (Oldland), ironworks, inscribed pottery, coins of 60-250 A.D., glass, fibulae. S. A. C. ii., 172 Pl., xxxiii., 260.
- MIDHURST, coins. *Assoc. Journ.* xxii., 358.
- NEWHAVEN, pre-Roman camp with some Roman pottery and kitchen-midden, &c. *Arch.* xlii., 34. S. A. C. xviii., 167; *Journ. Arch.* iv., 210; *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, 15, clxxxvii. (1886)
- (near), foundations, tiles, pottery, coins (Hadrian to Gallienus). S. A. C. v., 265 Pl. *Journ. Arch.* ix., 285.
- PAGHAM. See Selsea.
- PARHAM HILL, coins of M. Aurelius and Maximus. Dixon, 92 Pl.
- PETWORTH, coin of 268 A.D. S. A. C. xix., 143.
- PEVENSEY (ANDERIDA), walls, masonry, pottery, coins from Carausius to Gratian. *Report* (1858) by C. Roach Smith (*Coll. Ant.* vii., 166). See also Horsfield i., 310; S. A. C. vi., 265 Pl.; *G. M.*, 1852, ii., 130 Pl.; *Journ. Arch.* iv., 213.
- PLUMMER'S PLAIN (in St. Leonard's Forest), onyx cameo. S. A. C. xxv., 228 Pl.
- POLEGATE, pottery, coin. S. A. C. xx., 233.
- POOR MAN'S WALL. See Devil's Dyke.
- PORTSLADE (N.W. of railway station, in Brickfield), urns with bones, Samian and Durobrivian ware, lachrymatories, fibula, clayballs. Brighton Museum, and in possession of J. E. Hall, Esq.
- windmill, supposed villa, pavement, bone awls, Samian and other pottery, tiles, key. Brighton Museum.
- PRESTON (near Brighton)—Springfield Road, pavement, pottery, graves, urns, glass, coins (160 A.D.), loose urns, fibulae. *Assoc. Journ.* xxxiii., 518; *Proceedings of Brighton N.H.S.*, 1876; Friend's *Brighton Almanac*, 1885, 166. *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (II.), vii., 294.
- PRINSTEAD, silver coin of 40 B.C. *Arch. Journ.* xiii., 96.
- PULBROUGH. i. Broomer's Hill, 4 lead pigs inscribed. C. I. L., 1215, and reff. there. ii. Holmstreet (Marehill), bricks, circular foundations, and iii. Borough Farm, foundations, stucco, tiles. Dall *Arundel*, 358 Pl. (Horsfield ii., 164 Pl.). S. A. C. xi., 140 Pl. iv. Cold Harbour, coin. S. A. C. xi., 139.
- RANSOMBE CAMP, tiles, Samian pottery on surface. *Arch.* xlvi., 474, 489.
- ROTTINGDEAN (shore near), supposed glass factory. Wright's *Celt Roman and Saxon* (1861), 230.
- RUMBOLDSWYKE, bricks and urns in church, and near. *Assoc. Journ.* xxiv., 215; S. A. C. xvii., 265 Pl.
- RYE, coins. Reynold's *Itiner.* (Appendix.)
- ST. ROOHE HILL OR TRUNDLE (near Singleton), pre-Roman camp, gold coin of Nero. *Arch.* xlii., 48; Dall *Hist.* xxiii. n.; O. S., 61, 3 and 2.
- SEAFORD, possibly Roman camp with tumuli, pottery (inscribed V. E.), coins of Hadrian, &c., fibulae, nails; cemetery; anipulla, gold coin of Valentinian. *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* vi., 287, x., 130; *Arch.* xlii., 34; S. A. C. xxxii., 167; *Assoc. Journ.* ii., 344; S. A. C. xxi., 218; vii. 73 Pl.
- (Sutton), tiles in church wall. S. A. C. xiii., 309; xv., 243; xviii., 141 (supposed saltpan).
- (near), urn. S. A. C. ix., 368 Pl.
- SEDLISCOMBE, ironworks, coins. S. A. C. ii., 175.

- SELSEA.** Mill—coins of Hadrian, Aurelius, &c. Dixon, 18 Pl. Rectory—tiles, bricks, pottery. *Dall. Chich.*, 5.
- SHOREHAM** (near), coins. *Dall. Hist.* xxiii. (vague notice).
- SLINDON**, earthwork, tiles, pottery, vase handle. S. A. C. xxvi, 267; *Arch. Journ.* xxii, 332.
- SLINFOLD**, foundations, tiles, stucco, coins (80-300 A.D.). *G. M.* (1841) ii, 261; S. A. C. xi, 145; O. S., 13, 2.
- SOUTH DOWNS**, Camps on. *Arch.* xlii, 27-76; *Arch. Journ.* xli, 58; *Assoc. Journ.* xlii, 159, and *ref.*
- uncertain site near Brighton, urn with 1000 denarii of Ant. Pius. *Relhan Hist.* (1761) p. 8 (hence other *Guides*, and *G. M.* 1761-249); *Gough's Camden* i. 200; *Horsfield* i., 178; *Dall. Hist.* xxiii.
- SOUTHERHAM**, urn, coins. *Horsfield Lewes* i., 70.
- SOUTH STOKE**, bronze statuette. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (II) vii., 339.
- SOUTHWICK** (N.E. of), bricks, pottery. *Cartw. Bramber*, 69; *Horsfield* ii., 218.
- STANMER**, bronze Cupid. *Arch.* xxix., 372.
- STEYNING** (downs above to W.), barrow with skeleton, 50 coins of lower Empire, stylus (?). *Cartw. Bramber*, 170.
- STONEHAM** (near Lewes), coins of Nero, Trajan. *Horsfield Lewes* i. 70.
- STONEHIVER** (near Hardham), coin. S. A. C. xi, 139.
- STORRINGTON** (Redford hamlet), 1800 coins of lower Empire. S. A. C. viii., 277; xi, 140; *Arch. Journ.* xxiv., 70.
- SULLINGTON** (Sandgate), Roman (?) weapons. *Cartw. Bramber*, 123. (*Horsfield* ii., 239); S. A. C. i. 57; *Lower* ii., 192.
- SUTTON** (near Stane st.), pottery. S. A. C. xv., 242.
- (near Seaford). *See* Seaford.
- THUNDERSBARROW CAMP**, Roman (?) and British pottery. O. S.
- TWINEHAM**, urn, spear head. S. A. C. xix., 195. Remains of buildings of uncertain date. S. A. C. xxxv., 195.
- WARBURTON** (near Arundel), glass vessel, bones, coin of Vespasian. Dixon, 91.
- WASHINGTON HILL**, coin of Faustina. Dixon, 92 Pl.
- WATERSFIELD.** *See* Cold Waltham.
- WEPHAM**, coins. *Dall. Hist.* xxiii.
- WESTERGATE** (near Chichester), stone coffin, with pottery, glass, bronze instruments. *Arch. Journ.*, xi. 125, Pl.; *Chich. Tr.*, 65 Pl. [Now in British Museum.]
- WESTFIELD**; cinderheap, coins. S. A. C., ii. 219, xxvii. 228.
- WHITE HAWKE HILL** (Brighton racecourse), pre-Roman camp, urns, coins. *Relhan Hist.*, p. 8; *Horsfield*, i. 59; *Lewes*, i. 43; *Arch.*, xlii. 39.
- WIGGONHOLT**, graves, urns, Samian ware, coins (60-220 A.D.), patera. *Dall. Arundel*, 274; (*Horsfield*, ii. 162); S. A. C., ix. 112, xi. 139. *Arch. Journ.*, xii. 278.
- WILLINGTON**, coins. *Horsfield*, i. 290; (*Lower*, ii. 249).
- WILMINGTON**, pottery, key (?), coin of Nero. S. A. C., xxv. 231 Pl.; *Horsfield*, i. 327.
- WINCHELSEA**, Hübner (C. I. L., p. 17) calls the walls Roman, referring to W. D. Cooper's *History*, but the latter mentions no Roman remains.
- WISTON**, foundations, pavement, tiles. S. A. C., ii. 313 Pl.; *Assoc. Journ.*, iv. 386.
- WOLSTANBURY**, pre-Roman camp, arms, brass of lower Empire. *G. M.*, 1806, ii. 900; *Horsfield*, i. 59, *Lewes*, i. 70; S. A. C., xiv. 178; *Arch.*, xlii. 42.
- WORTHING** (Park Crescent), burial urns, with coins of Diocletian and Constantine. Dixon, 91.
- (shore), coins of Vespasian to Postumus, pottery, bones of animals. Dixon, 75 Pl.; S. A. C., i. 27.
- (East Chesswood), burial urns with bones, Samian ware (one inscr.), coin. S. A. C., xxxii. 233, xxxiv. 218 Pl.; *Arch. Journ.*, xli. 172.
- (Broadwater), urns, Samian ware, glass, shoes and nails. Dixon, 89.

ROADS—

1. Stane Street: London to Chichester through Dorking, Slinfold, Billingshurst, Pulborough, Hardham, Cold Waltham. *Dall. Hist.*,

- xvii. (Horsfield, i. 57); S. A. C., xi. 128 Pl., xix. 162; *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxii. 480. The statement sometimes made that this road ran through Arundel is erroneous; the alleged continuation towards Selsea (S. A. C. xi. 27) is equally unfounded in fact.
2. Chichester to Bittern (Hants). *Anton. Itin.*, 478. This road seems not to have been explored, except at New Fishbourne perhaps.
- The following roads rest on insufficient evidence:—
3. Chichester to Pevensey. S. A. C., vi. 103, xiii. 55n., xx. 233; and in parts, Chichester to Ciasbury. *Assoc. Journ.*, xxxiv. 311. Steyning and Edburton. S. A. C., i. 77, ii. 64, 315, v. 112. Shoreham to Lewes. *Relhan History*, p. 8 (hence many writers). Lewes to Newhaven. *Horsfield Lewes*, i. 67 (against). Beddingham. S. A. C., xxi. 30. Newhaven to Seaford. xvii. 141. Lewes to Pevensey. *Assoc. Journ.*, vi. 91. None of these passages contain any real evidence for the existence of the supposed road, for which the spurious Richard of Cirencester seems mainly responsible. Hübner is therefore probably rash in marking it as *certa sed nondum explorata*. There are traces of British roads at Glynde and Ditchling (*Arch.*, xlii. 30-35) which the Romans may have used.
4. London to Newhaven or Pevensey. *Dall. Hist.*, xvi. (Horsfield, i. 38). This continuation of the Ermyrn St. was invented by Richard of Cirencester, and has no real existence whatever.
5. Aldrington, Portalade, Clayton, St. John's Common to Bromley (Kent). *G. M.*, 1781, 306, 1818, ii. 107; S. A. C., ii. 76, xiv. 178. It is certain that a road made with flints was traced in 1781 near Clayton and St. John's Common, and about 1860 near Hurstpierpoint; the rest is conjecture. The road which Elliot placed at Street (Burrell MSS.; Horsfield i. 232) seems to be supported only by the name.
6. Lewes, Heathfield, Burwash, Etchingham, into Kent. S. A. C., xxvii. 163. This is apparently mere conjecture so far as Sussex is concerned.
7. A road running east through Midhurst to Lewes rests on nothing better than a mistaken interpretation of the "Anonymus Ravennas."

14. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN, 1857.

[*Archæologia Cantiana*, being transactions of the Kent Archæological Society, vol. xvii.; *Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxxv.]

Arnold (A. A.), Quarry House on Frindsbury Hill. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 169-180.
 — Roman remains and celt found near Quarry House, Frindsbury. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 189-192.

— Rochester Bridge in A.D. 1561. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 212-240.
 Attree (Capt. F. W. T.), Wivelsfield. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 1-60.

Brock (E. P. L.), Ancient Stained Glass in Westbere Church. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 1-3.

Cowper (J. M.), Accounts of St. Dunstan's, Canterbury (continued from vol. xvi). *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 77-152.

Dalison (Mrs.), Dalison documents: letters of Thomas Stanley of Hampton, written between 1636 and 1656. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 353-372.

Dowker (G.), Roman remains at Walmer and Ramsgate. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 4-5.

— Saxon cemetery at Wickhambreux. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 6-9.

— Roman remains recently found at Canterbury. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 34-37.

Duckett (Sir G. F.), additional materials towards the History of the priory of St. Pancras at Lewes. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 101-126.

Expense book of James Master, Esq. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 321-352.

- Fenton (J. A.), Worthing two hundred years ago. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 93-100.
- Gomme (G. L.), Boley Hill, Rochester. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 181-188.
- Hussey (E.), Scotney Castle. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 38-48.
- Payne (G.), Roman leaden coffin discovered at Plumstead. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 10-11.
- Potters' names and marks on pseudo Samian ware found in Kent. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 153-160.
- Pearman (Rev. A. J.), Rainham Church. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 49-65.
- Return of aliens resident at Cuckfield and Lindfield in 1793. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 173-178.
- Robertson (Rev. Canon Scott), sculptured head of a knight. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 37.
- Church plate in Kent. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 241-320.
- Cobham Hall: letters to the Duke of Lenox, A.D., 1667-72. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 373-391.
- Furniture and pictures at Cobham Hall in 1672. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 392-410.
- Rye (W. B.), the ancient Episcopal palace at Rochester and Bishop Fisher. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 66-76.
- Rochester Bridge, a poem written in A.D., 1601. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 161-168.
- Salisbury (E.), report on the records of New Romney. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 12-33.
- Sawyer (F. E.), Extracts from the Sussex Assize Roll, 1279. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 89-92.
- Glossary of Sussex Dialectal Place Nomenclature. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 165-172.
- Crown presentations to Sussex Benefices temp Charles II. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 179-188.
- Smith (O. R.), discovery of a hoard of Roman coins at Springhead. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 209-211.
- Stenning (Alan H.), return of the members of Parliament for the county and boroughs of Sussex. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 127-164.
- Wadmore (J. F.), Thomas Smythe of Westenhanger, commonly called Customer Smythe. *Arch. Cant.*, xvii., 193-208.
- Whistler (Rev. R. F.), the annals of an English family. *Sussex Arch. Coll.*, xxxv., 61-88.

15. FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

- Arbois de Jubainville (H. D'), Le char du guerre des Celtes dans quelques textes historiques. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 194-199.
- Becker (P.), Alterthümer aus der Provinz Sachsen. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 48-52.
- Busch (), Gräberfeld bei Gleinau a. d. Oder (Schlesien). *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 55-66.
- Clermont-Ganneau (M.), Sarcophage de Sidon représentant le mythe de Marryaa. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 160-167.
- Contrat de 1581 relatif aux ouvrages de menuiserie de la Basse-cour du château de Saint-Germain. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 214-220.
- Cumont (Frantz), Les Dieux éternels des inscriptions Latines. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 184-193.
- Emerson (A.), an engraved bronze bull at Metaponto. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 28-38.
- Focke (W. O.), Drachenstein bei Donnern. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 30-32.

- Guillemand (J.), Les Inscriptions Gauloises: nouvel essai d'interprétation. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 200-213.
- Jentsch (H.), Eisenfunde aus Sachsen und der Lausitz. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 52-54.
- Launay (L. de), Histoire Géologique de Mételin et de Thasos. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 242-253.
- Marguand (A.), Early Athenian-Ionic capitals found on the Akropolis. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 42-44.
- Merriam (A. C.), Letter from Greece [progress of Archæological discovery in Greece.] *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 47-57.
- Monceaux (P.), Fastes éponymiques de la ligue Thessalienne. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 221-241.
- Müntz (Eugène), L'antipape Clément vii; essai sur l'histoire des arts à Avignon vers la fin du xiv^e siècle. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 168-183.
- Nagel (A.), Eröffnung eines Hügelgrabes bei Matzhausen, Bez.-Amt Burglen-gensfeld. *Zeit für Ethnol.*, xx., 25-28.
- R. (S.), Liste des oculistes Romains mentionnés sur les cachets. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 254-268.
- Reinach (S.), an inedited portrait of Plato. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 1-5.
- Ramsay (W. M.), Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border lands. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 6-21.
- Schliemann (H.), Urälteste Tempel der Aphrodite. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 20-23.
- die Mykenen Königsgräber und der prähistorische Palast der Könige von Tiryns. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 23-25.
- Seler (E.), die Ruinen von Xochicalco. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 94-111.
- Trowbridge (S. B. P.), Archaic Ionic capitals found on the Akropolis. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 22-27.
- Villefosse (Ant. Héron de), Figure en terre blanche trouvée à Caudebec-lès-Elbeuf. *Rev. Archéologique*, 3rd ser., xi., 145-159.
- Virchow (R.), Polirtes Steinkeil aus Hornblendeschiefer von Püschkau in Niederschles. *Zeit. für Ethnol.*, xx., 28-29.
- Ward (W. H.), notes on Oriental antiquities: VI. Two Stone Tablets with Hieroglyphic Babylonian writing. *American Journ. Arch.*, iv., 39-41.

REVIEW.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS: ASSYRIA. By Z. A. RAGOZIN. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1887. 8vo. pp. xix., 450.

M^{RS}. RAGOZIN has followed up her admirable account of ancient Chaldea by an equally admirable account of Assyria. Though not a professed Assyriologist, she has made use of the best and latest works bearing on the history and language of Assyria, and has produced a volume which the Assyriologist himself will read with pleasure and profit. She possesses good

judgment, historical imagination, and a pleasant style, and the very fact that she does not approach the subject from the point of view of a specialist makes her the better historian. She has no favourite theories to defend or overthrow, and no temptation to allow unimportant details to obscure the general features of the narrative.

The best commentary that can be furnished on the labours of Assyrian students in these latter years is afforded by a comparison of this book with those written upon the history of the ancient East thirty or forty years ago. The discoveries of the last few years have opened up a new world of life and thought and civilisation and made us familiar not only with facts but also with conceptions of which our immediate forefathers never even dreamed. Half a century ago the very site of Nineveh was questioned; and all that was known about its history was derived from a few stray notices in the Old Testament and the legends that passed current in the classical world. Now we can read the story of Sennacherib's campaign against Judah told in his own words, we can follow the armies of Tiglath-pileser I. as they marched through Western Asia four centuries earlier, and we can study the same literature that the scribes and scholars of Nineveh once studied, measuring the depth of their knowledge and the profundity of their scientific lore.

It is perhaps startling at first sight to find how little the world has changed since the days when Sennacherib transferred the royal library of Calah to its new habitation in Nineveh. The books it contained were duly numbered and registered, and the librarian was enjoined to lend them to any reader who required their use. But these arrangements were of old standing. The libraries of Assyria were but imitations of those of Babylonia, and the literature that was stored in them consisted for the most part of copies of older Babylonian works or else of commentaries upon them. Like the Babylonians the educated Assyrian was required to know Accadian, the extinct language of primitive Chaldea, and the grammars, vocabularies, reading-books, and interlineal translations of Accadian literature that were provided for the purpose recall to mind the Latin manuals of our own school days.

During the last ten years such excavations as have been made in the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates have taken place in Babylonia rather than in Assyria. Our knowledge of Assyrian history, as separate from that of Babylonia, has consequently received but little addition. Perhaps the only new facts of importance that have come to light are the existence of a second Tiglath-pileser the father of Ramán-nirari II., making the Tiglath-pileser of Scripture the third of his name, and the fact that the last, or almost the last monarch of Assyria was called Sin-sarra-iskun. But the history of the closing days of the Assyrian empire still remains shrouded in mystery.

Before parting from Mde. Ragozin's book it is necessary to say a word or two in praise of the excellent and well-chosen illustrations which are profusely scattered through its pages. They add greatly to the interest of the volume.

A. H. SAYOR.

History.

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VILLENAGE IN ENGLAND DURING THE
FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIIth CENTURY.

REVIEWING the last two volumes of Mr. Thorold Roger's splendid work on the history of agriculture and prices, the *Athenæum* states in the following manner the current idea as to the complete disappearance in England of personal servitude, during the second part of the 16th century :

"Slavery, serfdom, bondage, villenage, call it by what name you will, has existed throughout the greater part of the island from time immemorial. Slowly, however, without revolutionary violence for the most part, bondmen became free; a few old manorial customs remained, but in the Tudor times serfdom may be said to have expired. The last conveyance of bondmen with the land we have seen is in the reign of James I., but it is probably only a legal form copied from older documents." (*Athenæum*, May 12th, 1888.)

A petition which I have been fortunate enough to find amongst the State papers of the Commonwealth preserved at the Record Office, gives a formal "démenti" to this somewhat sweeping statement. Slavery, it is true, is not mentioned there, as it had already disappeared centuries before; but villenage, totally differing from it by its origin and legal character, and not having been repealed by statute, is represented as being still alive in more than one corner of the country. The petition we are quoting is not the only document of the 17th century where villenage is mentioned. We find traces of it in the parish registers of Hartland, embracing the period from 1638 to 1650. One of the chief characteristics of villenage is the payment of heriots. This payment is mentioned more than once in these parochial documents (Fifth Report of the Historical Mss. Commission, p. 574). The heriots are bitterly complained of in the petition we are now publishing. It seems that the progress of society, instead of bringing a certain improvement in the matter, had, on the contrary, rendered this sort of payment more heavy and

burthensome to the peasants, the landlord leaving aside any moral considerations, and insisting exclusively on the peculiar character of the obligation.

One of the chief claims of the Long Parliament to the gratitude of succeeding generations is certainly the fact that it brought forward a bill for the abolition of every vestige of personal bondage. Dissolved by Cromwell it was prevented from bringing to a right conclusion one of its noblest designs.

Instead of taking in his own hands the interests of the English peasantry, Cromwell, notwithstanding the petition presented to him by the oppressed villeins, declared in a special act "that all rents certain and heriots, due to mesne Lords or other private persons, shall be paid; and that where any relief, or double ancient yearly Rent, upon the death of an ancestor was in such cases formerly due and payable, a double ancient yearly Rent onely in lieu thereof shall now be paid upon the death of an ancestor, as in free and common soccage; and that the same shall be recovered by the like Remedy in Law, as Rents and Duties in free and common soccage." (An act for the taking away the Courts of Wards and liveries, London, 1657.)

So far was villenage from being completely obsolete in the years directly preceding its legal abolition by Charles the Second, that contemporaneous pamphleteers openly expressed the desire "that some courtes may be thought of how, without injury or wrong to the propriety of landlords, the duties and services with which most lands are charged may be taken off at a reasonable composition, as the infamous marks of servitude, and badges of the Norman yoke and tyranny."¹

These remarks will help to explain the following, hitherto unpublished petition to the reader, who, we have no doubt, will consider it as a precious document, capable of throwing a new light on the social condition of the English labourers during the great epoch of the religious, social and political commotions attached to the name of Oliver Cromwell.

"N. 35. To his Highness the Lord Protector of ye Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc., and to his most honorable Councell.

The humble petition of the well affected yet oppressed tenants of Thomas Dykes, Esq., of Warthold, in the Countie of Cumberland and other divers Landlords in the aforesaid Countie . . .

¹ *A modest Plea for an Equal Commonwealth, 1659.*

Wherefore in ye assurance wee have of your Highnes Ayme to God's glory, and the good liberty and benefit of his people, wee are now constrained to present our sad and lamentable grievances unto your Highnes pious consideration by reason of those intollerable pressures which wee have continually yet upon our backs by those many delinquents who are landlords over us and our estates, who by their owne power and wills breake all our customes and unrobes us of all our ancient and iust priviledges in laying such yokes upon our necks, that neither wee nor our estates are able to beare, in keeping us absolute vassalls and bondslaves to their tyrannous and perverse wills, and ourselves and posterities miserable and slavish Beggars to Eternity. Yea, and that which is ye sorrow of sorrows to our spirits, the Tirants doe more and more aggravate their oppressions upon us under pretence that your Highnes doth encourage, and is engaged to maintaine those their illegall lawes and oppressions upon us which our faith is very opposite to believe, and in whome wee hope the Lord hath wrought a more heavenly principall, etc."

The petitioners mention in the course of their address that they had "humbly made their addresses to ye late parliament: in consideration thereunto an intended act for yat purpose was 2 severall times read in ye House, but the House being dissolved could not perfect this."

"N. 35. A particular of ye insufferable grievances imposed upon ye Tenants under ye Tirannous and Delinquent Landlord Thomas Dykes of Warthold, Esq. and other Delinquent Landlords in the Countie of Cumberland (11 August 1651).

(1) The said Thomas Dykes of Warthold, Esq. and other landlords in the county of Cumberland, compells the tenants at the death both of Landlord and tenant to pay some 30s. and some 40s. fyne, whereas the auncient customs of fynes was but to pay one yearly value.

(2) The Landlord, etc., doe compell the said tenants to be bound to grinde at his and their milnes, and if otherwise they doe refuse, then the said Landlord, etc., doe amerce their said tenaunts at their mannor courts, where their power and will are a law, and afterwards commence suits against them either in Comon Law or Chancery to their great ruine unles the said tenaunts doe give the said Landlord what agreement or composition the Landlords shal be pleased withall to buy their owne peace.

(3) The said Landlords compell their said tenaunts to carry them all manner of carriages, viz. as Milstones to their Milnes, Coales and other fewell to their houses, etc.

(4) The said Landlord, etc., compells the said tenaunts to cut downe their corne in time of Harvest, and often to bring in the same to be lodged in their houses, whereby their tenaunts corne doth often perish for want of their industry.

(5) The said Landlord, etc., doth enioyne the said tenaunts to furnish their said Landlords with certaine number of Henns and other poultry to uphold their superstitious ffeasts at Christmas and Easter soo called.

(6) The said Landlord, etc., will not permit the said tenaunts to fell a tree in their owne grounds or hedges though planted by themselves for ye repayre of their owne houses, unless they bribe their Landlord for a lycense (yea, and often the said Landlord or their betrusted officers, which are all in generall malignants and Delinquents, will for a price of money give unto his or their friends any Timber Wood that grows in their tenaunts hedges or grounds to any foraigner^s or stranger that lives in another parish or county, and the poor tenaunt not daring to make complaint).

(7) The said Landlord, etc., will not permit the said tenaunts to dig up any Lyme stone for ye tillage of their owne grounds, for their better subsistence and ye generall increase and good of ye nation, whereby the poore people are kept in continuall Beggery, and the land kept barren and unfruitfull against ye generall increase of ye commonwealth.

(8) The said Landlords doe most unhumanely impose one most cruell tyranny more upon ye said tenaunts (which surely had its rise from Jophrott), especially as its abuses (to wit) that destructive custome of Herriots, the originall and abuses whereof were and are as followes :

The said Landlords formerly having some lands in their owne power of disposall, which afterwards they came to sell to their tenaunts upon conditions of ffyne and herriot, soe yat at ye death of ye tenaunts, an heire being in minority, the widow or guardian were to give the Landlord one Herriot as a composition for ye ffyne till the heire came himself to maturity of yeares, which custome hath of long time bene tyrannously abused as followeth, viz.

(1) That if a tenant (sic) have a parcell of ground conteyning

^s The application of the term "foreigner" to the inhabitant of another village at so late a period as the Commonwealth affords curious evidence of the isolation of villages from each other.

20 or 30 acres more or lesse, and the same he is through necessity constreyned to sell by severall parcells, and in case the said tenant doe parcell the said ground into 20 parcells more or lesse to soo many severall persons, the said Landlord will have a heriot for every one of ye parcells, which is tyrannicall oppression.

(2) If ye heire of ye partie deceased who did so parcell the said ground as aforesaid shall desire to repurchase the said parcells againe to his estate, yet at his death his widdow or childrens guardians are by ye then Landlord compelled to pay so many herriots as it was formerly sold into parcells by his said ffather if there be soe many goods belonging to ye person deceased.

Like in Copyhold land, where ye Landlord and their delinquent stewards will not accept of a fyne unles the tenaunt doe take so many cotypes and surrenders for so many parcells as the said land was parcelled in ye sale or purchase thereof though all in one field and tenor under one Landlord of purpose to make ye fee to ye said Lord or his delinquent stewart excessive.

These and other like intollerable grievances seriously weighed in ye ballance of your pious justice, wee pray a Christian regulation hereof, who shall have cause to Magnify the Lord for you.

and ever pray, etc."

The same state of things is shown to have existed in Cheshire and Lancashire, from which counties the following petition was sent to Cromwell:—

"To his Highnes the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The humble petition of divers well affected persons in Lancashire and Cheshire counties against oppressing Landlords (August 1654).

That your petitioners having from ye beginning of those warrs faithfully served ye Parliament freely hazarding their lives and all that was deare unto them to maintaine ye interest of ye commonwealth against ye bloody papists and Cabaleires, and hoping yat when ye Lord should have subdued their Enemies, your petitioners and many others should have been sett free from future bondage. But soo it is that to their great greife ye yokes of their oppressors are not yet broken, but when your petitioners had by their opposicion to them heated them in wrath and Mallice 7 times hotter then they were before were given upp to their Mercy. Who have already begun to oppress their cruelty by turning some of your petitioners

out of dores, and threatning ye like to ye rest and ye oppressed for their servise done to ye Parliament, which will not only weaken the Nation by Depopulacion of the Northerne counties of many of your faithfully cordiall friends, but greatly dishearten many Thow-sands of such under your happy government, The redress of which great grievance now through ye providence of God lyeth in ye power of your Highness to assert.

Wherefore your petitioners most humbly pray that your Highness will bee pleased to take their sade condicion into consideracion, And yat ye Act intended and drawne upp for releife of tennants against oppressing Landlords and read twice in ye late Parliament, but never brought to a periede by reason of their dissolucion may againe bee revived and established by Your Highness ordinancy. Your Highness would please by your order to impower ye persons whose names are expressed in the draught of an order hereto annexed, being gentlemen of knowne integrity, and most of them having very many tenants of their owne as commissioners to heare ye grievances of oppressed tenants, And to examine upon oath matter of fact between them and their landlords in the said countyes respectively. and to certify to your Highness ye true state of your petitioners complaynt, And that in the meane tyme all proceedings at Law for Ejection of such tenants may bee superceeded until certificate bee made from ye saide commissioners. Provided such certificates be returned before ye 31st Day of January 1654.

And not only your petitioners but many Thousand others shal be in duty bound to pray, etc.

JOHN JOLLIE in ye behalf of ye petitioners."

There can be no doubt that these petitions reveal a state of things in the northern counties which our best authorities have been slow to recognise. The plain truth is that all conclusions arrived at before manor rolls, legal documents in contested cases, and Parliamentary papers referring to the condition of the peasant class, are made accessible to students, must of necessity be of a tentative character. But it becomes all the more a pressing duty of the various societies devoted to archæological and historical inquiry to cease for the time publishing theory after theory, and to commence earnestly the work of publishing documents, by which alone the true state of things can be arrived at.

MAXIME KOVALEVSKY.

*THE BOOK OF ACCOUNTS OF THE
BAKERS OF YORK.*

THE following specimens from the *Book of Accounts* of the York Bakers, furnish some interesting illustrations of the ordinances already printed in this Review (ante pp. 124, 215). If the date of the payment sometimes precedes that of the ordinance, it indicates that the regulation was in force before it was registered or renewed. The figures between brackets refer to the corresponding ordinances :—

1585. Receipts.

"Item of Henrye Cowper for his brotherheade monye	20d.
Of the pynners and paynters for theire paidgion rent	16d.
Fynes rec. at Owse bridge [i.e. in the Mayor's court]	
Inprymis of Thomas Rames for lacke of weight	4d.
Item of Adam Symson Inholder (cf. sec. 42, 43)	4d.
" of Robt. Cooke Inholder	6d.
" of Mr. Mettam Inholder	8d.
" of Willm. Nicholson for lacke of weight	2d.
" of Thomas Rames for evill stuff and lack of weight	6d.
" of John Yaite for lacke of weight ij sundrye faultes	4d.
" Henrye Cowper for lacke of weight in a horse lofe	8d.
Fynes rec. at St. Anthony Hall [at the Company's meeting]	
Inprimis rec. of Wm. Wilson for openinge his shoppe on Sondag (sec. 41, 61)	1d.
Item of Raiphe Herdye for the lyke offence [and seven others for the like]	1d.
" of Steven Robson for brawlinge in the market with Raufe Herdye (sec. 30, 31, 69)	8d.
" of Raufe Herdye for the lyke offence againste Steven Robson with evill speeches to hym	4d.
" of William Tyndall for sayinge to his brother Steven Robson 'thou' in the common plaice (sec. 30, 69)	2d.
" of Willm. Nicholson for disobedyence (sec. 29, 69)	2d.
" of John Metcalfe, jernaman, for disapointinge John Yaite when he was hyered to hym (sec. 39)	4d.
" of Willm. Skelton to the vse of the occupacon for the goodwill of Thomas Nicholson prentis (sec. 65, 68)	3s. 4d.
" of Charls Skaife, sercher, for bayking on Sonndaye (sec. 41, 61)	6d.
" of John Yaite for disobedyence er gaynesaing the Searchers in the common place	4d.
" of John Daver for not comynge to the common place (sec. 28)	2d.
" of Willm. Nycholson for charginge tholde searchers of wrongs in there accompts, and was not	4d.
" of Willm. Wayte for geving moulter at castle myls [and five others, the like ; cf. sec. 51]	2d.
" of Steven Lonsdell for Kiddall his prentis assigned to hym by the searchers and occupacion in the comon place (sec. 68)	5s. 0.
" of Cunande Walles from promysinge Gregorye Smith to bayk, and came not (sec. 39)	4d.
" of Richerd Wilson for comynge behinde the hower (sec. 28)	2d.
" of Richerd Wright for 'throwinge' Wm. King, searcher (sec. 29)	4d.
" of Henrye Cowper for mysorder at Trinitie supper (sec. 30, 69)	4d."

Again in 1586 fines were set at St. Anthony's Hall—

"Rec. of Thomas Bewemer for gevinge moulter att Castle mylls	4d.
" of Willm. Fell for evill words spoken by hys mother (sec. 30)	4d.
" of John Dynsdell for maykinge the mylner privye what he maide of thre bushels of Rye	4d.
" of John Watman for brawlinge with Wm. Langton wyfe in Thursday market	2d.
" of Willm. Waite for fower default whiche was arbitrated by fower brether of thoccupacion (sec. 70)	4d.
Rec. of Mathewe Roger which was electe and chosen searcher and wolde not stande (sec. 55)	20d.
" of Willm. Beckewith for contributor to the occupacon to baike spiced caikes for this yere (sec. 47, 48, 53)	5s.
" of Robt. Wyseman for baikinge Horne caikes in Lente on dayes which was not fastin daies (cf. sec. 58)	2d."

In 1587 fines were set in the Mayor's court for many cases of light weight—"a light rye loofe," "a light bowted¹ loofe," "a light crose lofe," "a light white lofe," "a light horse loofe," "for spiced caikes baiking," &c. In their own hall the same year were fined "Mathew Roger for not comynge to go to church with Mr. Ketiland at his mariage as he was warned by the Searchers" (sec. 57), "for brawlinge at castle mylls," "Wm. Nicholson for not comynge to go to churche with Thomas Haxuppe at his mariage" (sec. 57), "Mathew Staynton for baykinge in the cuntrye" (sec. 3).

On the other hand, the following are payments:—

1584	"to John Jackeson the officer for goinge with searchers to searche Innes (cf. sec. 43)	12d.
	to the bridgemaisters for padgion-howse rent	12d.
	at the offrande of Thomas Slater (sec. 57)	4d.
	to mynstrells straungers at John Garthe Maundaye dynner	12d.
	to the bedall of St. Anthonye [the Hall rent]	3s. 0d.
	bestowed of John Dixson by consent in the comon place when he wente to Baithe	3s. 4d.
	to my lorde mare concerninge the playe	3s. 4d.
1585	"For two sewte of newe weights	9s.
	for a payre of newe brasse scaylles	3s.
	at the offrande of John Mylner wife (sec. 57)	4d.
1537	"Laide furthe at the offrande of Mr. Ketiland mariage	4d.
1588	"At John Collye offrand	
	at John Dinsdell wife offrand	
	at John Gryme rekeninge dynner to mynstrels by consentte	16d.
	for parchment to maike ij leaves to putt vnto the ordynall to sett doune the newe orders	3d.
	to Thomas Roger ² the clark for maikinge vpe this our accompt	8d."

¹ This word occurs several times; in 1588 it is "bowlted" and "boulted." It seems to mean a loaf of "boulted" or sifted flour. Compare sec. 21, 42.

² Adam Kettlewell appears to have become clerk in 1593; he was paid in that year for "the reformacon and certaine articles to be added vnto our ordenarye;" and in 1596 for "his paynes in ingrossinge the same booke."

Besides the offerings at marriages and burials of brethren charity was sometimes given, as in 1593, "to a stranger havinge a pasport and beinge a baker, as he affirmed, 6d.;" and in 1595 it was ordered by the company, at their common assembly, that three of their number "shall be free at the foure ordenarye dynners and dischargd of all other dewtyes in respecte of their povertie."

These are among the interesting matters to be found in these two old books, which it is hoped may form a not useless contribution towards the history of an English craft or company.

L. TOULMIN SMITH.

REVIEW.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED. The History of the Town and Guild. By JOHN SCOTT. London: Elliot Stock. 1888. 4to, pp. xv., 495.

THERE are many reasons why we should expect that—"Our town of Berwick-upon-Tweed," as its style ran in royal proclamations, should readily furnish materials for a great book: its strategic value as a frontier garrison, commanding the eastern route from England to Scotland, as Carlisle commanded the western one; its *status* as a free town, independent alike of both kingdoms; and its position at the mouth of a great river, within easy sail of the ports of Western Europe, all render it certain that the historian of Berwick-upon-Tweed, whether he be of the old-fashioned drum and trumpet school, or whether he loves rather to trace the history of municipal institutions and their gradual development, or to follow to their causes the fluctuations of commercial prosperity, will find plenty of material to his hand, and there will be stuff remaining over for those who like to deal with ecclesiastical matters. With all these various branches of history Mr. Scott has concerned himself, and the result is a great and valuable work, that is, perhaps from its very fullness, a little overpowering: while the necessity of going over the history three or four times, general history, guild history, ecclesiastical history, &c., is apt a little to confuse: it would have been better had Mr. Scott emphasized by subtitles, or other means, these various divisions.

Berwick and Carlisle readily occur to one's mind in connection with one another: they have many points of resemblance; both are frontier fortresses of great strategic value as commanding routes by which wheeled carriages, and therefore armies, could pass from one kingdom into the other: both sprang into importance, when the present boundaries between England and Scotland were established: both have seen great English armies assemble under their walls for the invasion of Scotland: both are indissolubly connected with the history of Edward I.: one is the capital of the Western Marches, the other of the Eastern: English Parliaments have assembled in both places: both depended largely for their prosperity upon their garrisons, and when these were broke in 1603, in consequence of the union of the two kingdoms, both places fell into poverty: both places were occupied for Charles I. in 1639, and both had, a little later, to endure being garrisoned by Scots. But the resemblance must not be pressed too

far : the one town, Berwick, is situate in the English kingdom of Bernici and the other, Carlisle, in the British kingdom of Strathclyde : Carlisle has a long history prior to its re-foundation by the Red King, and its soil is replete with Roman antiquities ; no mention is found of Berwick until the 9th century, and Mr. Scott can find no evidence that it was a place of any importance until the 11th century ; no Roman relics occur there ; Carlisle has always been for military, for civil, and for ecclesiastical purposes, the capital of the district around it, though the boundaries of that district have from time to time been varied ; but for all these purposes Berwick has been, time and time, overshadowed by its neighbours of Bamborough, Newcastle, and Durham : at this day Carlisle retains its supremacy and is a manufacturing town and a great railway centre : so is Newcastle, but Berwick is a mere road-side station, whose coasting trade has been diverted by the railway into other channels, and we are sorry to find Mr. Scott writing sadly—"trade does not flow to the old town, and at no period in its history have the signs of decay been more legibly written on it than in the year 1887."

Berwick was at the zenith of its prosperity in the 13th century : the Chronicle of Lanercost under date of 1296 writes of it : "*Ipsa civitas quondam adeo populosa ac negotiosa extiterat, quod merito altera Alexandria dici poterat, cujus divitiæ mare, et æquæ muri ejus.*" It had more ships, and more foreign commerce than any other port in Scotland, and through it went to the continent, the export of wool, woollens, and hides collected from the great basin of the Tweed, in which were situate the wealthy farming and trading monasteries of Melrose, Dryburgh, Jedburgh, and Kelso, which last place was connected with Berwick by a good road, practicable for wheeled conveyances. The Scotch kings had a palace in Berwick, and frequently resided there ; perhaps in consequence of this the eastern or Berwick route between the two kingdoms was more used than the western through Carlisle. In 1286 Berwick paid into the Scotch exchequer £2,190 annually, a sum equal to about one fourth of the whole customs of England. These halcyon times passed away : the death of the Maiden of Norway gave Edward I. an excuse for interfering : in 1296 he besieged, captured, and destroyed Berwick, and massacred the inhabitants : he made it into a fortress, and Berwick was caught up into the current of history ; for the next 300 years it was conspicuous only for its share in the calamities of war : its wool trade dwindled away, and little of its export trade remained but that in salmon, when, in 1482, Berwick, after various vicissitudes, passed for ever from under Scotch rule into English possession and government.

About one half of the volume now under review is devoted to the general history of Berwick from its first mention in the 9th century down to its decadence in 1887. The garrisons that held Berwick appear to have been as great a terror to those they were supposed to protect, as to those they were expected to fight, and we read of them frequently as "thievish and ill-behaved." In 1560 statutes were signed by Queen Elizabeth for the Town and Castle of Berwick, in which offences by the soldiers were dealt with, with considerable severity. Some of the statutes are curious : every soldier is to have a jacket of white and green : the playing at dice or cards for money, or "at marbles but for beer, ale, or

wine," was prohibited to the soldiers, as also was the keeping of "curr dogges or bitches:" one can understand one of Queen Bess's musketeers keeping a disreputable little cur dog, but one does not readily realise him at a game of marbles: still, in the reign of William IV. an order was in the order books of H. M.'s guards that the ensigns were not to play marbles with the drummer boys. These Elizabethan soldiers, who garrisoned Berwick, required some pleasure to sweeten their lot with: "the sourness of the northern air" made them ill, as Sir John Brende tells in a letter to Cecil, while the Queen's victuallers fed them on condemned provisions, to wit, "naughty herrings," of which they had 396 barrels: the pay however was liberal, only it was not forthcoming. No wonder men would not stay in Berwick longer than they could help—to be deprived of their games at marbles, their little wee dogs, and their liberal pay, to be fed on stinking herrings and to breathe sour air. Lord Grey of Wilton was appointed governor in 1560, and he purged the town: he sent away "269 abominable Damoselles": at the suggestion of John Knox he imported learned and godly men to preach, the Dean of Durham and Mr. Sampson, and he laid a cess on the garrison for payment of their fees. The fortifications of Berwick, which Edward I. had made, were by the reign of Queen Elizabeth obsolete and decayed: Grey started to reform them, and the work was completed by his successors—Bell Tower, of which a photograph is given, is now the only remnant of that old line of fortification which Edward I. built and Bruce did much to strengthen. Henry Lord Hunsden, Queen Elizabeth's cousin, was appointed in 1568 Governor of Berwick, and Warden of the East Marches: he was more given to hanging than either hunting or hawking: he suppressed Leonard Dacre's rebellion, and he and after him Sir Robert and Sir John Carey did much to reduce the thievish and murderous propensities of the Borderers (of which Mr. Scott gives some instances) by severely punishing some, and by treating others in a spirit of generous confidence. With the death of Elizabeth came the accession of James VI. of Scotland to the English throne, and the union of the two kingdoms, which ultimately resulted in the pacification and civilisation of the wild country between Carlisle and Berwick, into portions of which Camden and Cotton in 1599 dare not venture on account of the "rank robbers thereabouts." James visited Berwick on his road to London, and was received by the inhabitants with great loyalty, but they soon found, as also did Carlisle, that "Union" spelt ruin for the good town of Berwick. The garrison was reduced to 100 men: the ordnance was sent to the Tower of London; the walls dismantled, and the high personages, governor and others, who dwelt and spent their money in Berwick, departed: no longer did the Crown, as in Queen Elizabeth's time, spend annually in Berwick the sum of £30,000: the glory had departed, and in 1623 the merchants of Berwick plead their poverty and misery in two petitions, which we have not room to quote, but which may well be compared with a similar petition that the merchants of Carlisle in 1617 presented to James I.¹ Mr. Scott says that "from this time (1603) the history of the town rapidly diminishes in importance, and what remains shall not detain us long." Mr. Scott's account of Berwick during the Commonwealth is extremely inter-

¹ See Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle: Ferguson & Nanson: Carlisle, 1887, p. 95. A longer one (unprinted) is among the muniments at Carlisle.

esting, but we must refrain from going into it. In 1715 and in 1745 the tide of war rolled away from Berwick.

In the portion of his book which Mr. Scott devotes to the general history of Berwick are many interesting items as to wages, prices of provisions, the prevalence of the plague in Berwick, &c.: those curious in municipal pageantry can cull some interesting items:—thus in 1760 one Henry Coole has to make a public apology for an assault on the Mayor, “in which Mr. Mayor’s White Rod, the insignia [sic] of his office was broken:” at Carlisle the insignia of the Mayor is also a white rod; it was so in the days of Queen Elizabeth, and is so now: according to Ridpath’s *Border History* the staff of the Mayor of Berwick was handed over to James I. on his visit to that town: the book before us says the governor’s staff was. A very interesting picture is given of the last of the Town Waits—interesting as showing the cloak gown or livery, which Berwick supplied to these officiates. We do not exactly gather what are the municipal insignia of Berwick: four sergeants at mace are mentioned, and maces, which in 1651 had the arms of the commonwealth put upon them, and also halberts: whether the maces exist now does not appear; the halberts do. Berwick possesses a sufficiently ugly major’s chain, which they purchased in 1836 with funds raised by the sale of a silver bowl, a silver tankard of the date of 1686, and a silver car! The Mayor, besides his chain, also possesses a purple gown.

The second part of Mr. Scott’s book is called “Guild History of Berwick,” and is followed by a number of disconnected chapters which deal with ecclesiastical history, charities, schools, bridges, fisheries, and many miscellaneous matters, including the Jubilee of 1887: this part of the book would have been better of more careful arrangement, and a note on the Berwick Mint is sandwiched in between the general history and the guild history in an odd manner.

Municipal history would have been a fitter title for the second part of the book than guild history: Mr. Scott gives no information as to the formation of the corporation or guild, which up to 1835 ruled Berwick; we presume none now exists, but it probably originated in a guild mercatory established by the colony of Flemings, whom the wool trade at a very early date attracted to Berwick: we do not gather whether Berwick had also separate trade guilds like Carlisle or Newcastle: we gather from the book before us no history of any prolonged struggle, as at Carlisle and other places, between the oligarchic Guild Mercatory or Corporation and the democratic trade guilds. Apparently the Berwick guild was in a full blown state in the reign of David I., under whom Berwick became a royal burgh, and a member of the Court of the Four Burghs, Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. The laws of the Four Burghs have been published by various editors, and Mr. Scott in his seventh appendix gives a very interesting set belonging to Berwick that had up to his time escaped the eye of historian or archaeologist; Mr. Scott considers they were *codified* in 1249. The second rule is: “We order that all particular gilds from hens furth in o’ burghe had be abrogat and down away and the catell on to them reasonably belongyn shal be gewyn vnto o’ gilde and from hens furth that no man presume to procur any other gilde w^t in oure burghe but all gang together w^t on

assent and trow lowff." This would seem to point to a struggle between the Guild Mercatary and the Trade Guilds, in which the first obtained a decided victory, and, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up the others. The government of the town by them was vested in twenty-four feering men (a term Mr. Scott does not explain) a mayor, and four bailiffs; but the powers of these officials were until 1603 largely controlled by the military authorities, and the mayor was a paid servant of the Crown. A charter which was granted by James I. extended the powers of the guild or corporation, and abrogated the control of the military authorities. From the books of the guild and the records of the court leet Mr. Scott has made a large number of extracts, which throw much light on the manners and social customs of Berwick: we do not see that they differ much from what occur in the records of other towns, Carlisle for instance: a series of extracts as to the salmon fisheries are of course peculiar to Berwick. In 1685 the authorities of Berwick purchased a new silver mace for £36 11s, but their poverty compelled them to sell it in 1697 for £30. Chronic debt and extravagance seem to have ever been the failing of the governing body of Berwick, and it was high time that they were superseded by the present corporation under the Municipal Corporations Reform Act.

The ecclesiastical history of Berwick Mr. Scott tells us is obscure: in the Reformation times it had four churches, but only one now remains, and the sites of the vanished three are not all identified. The mendicant orders must have found a happy hunting ground in Berwick: the Red, Black, Grey, and White Friars, all had houses, and there is a suggestion that the Austin Friars were there also: by the way Mr. Scott uses the terms "monks" and "friars" as if they were the same. There were also one or two nunneries and sundry hospitals. The post-Reformation history of the parish church is interesting, as showing that though the Berwickians might belong to England, yet they were very Scotch:—thus when the parish church was rebuilt in the middle of the 17th century they galleried it all round, and the Bishop of Durham had much difficulty in getting the east gallery removed and a communion table and chancel provided: he had also to insist upon a font: steeple the church has never yet had, and the bells are hung in the town hall.

The book is so full of matter that we part with it with great reluctance: we have no space to even touch upon the histories of the bridges, the tolls, the fisheries, or the castle, to all of which our author devotes chapters. He gives some valuable appendices, but his index is deficient: for instance he oftentimes mentions Carlisle in his text, but it is not to be found in his index: nor does "railway" appear, though we do read in the book something about the railway and the detriment it has worked to the town's prosperity; these are trifles, due perhaps to the indisposition which, we learn with regret from the preface, hindered Mr. Scott from attending closely to the proof sheets.

RICHARD S. FERGUSON.

All communications should be directed to "The Editor, Archaeological Review," 270 Strand W.C.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected MSS. unless a stamped directed envelope is sent for that purpose.

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